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TWENTY CENTS

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE APPROACH OF THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

On the Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

THE Soviet Union reached the fourteenth anniversary of the Great October Revolution stronger than at any time in its existence. The capitalist world encountered this anniversary more deeply shaken than at any time since the war. The tendencies which made themselves apparent even two years ago—the swifter pace in the Soviet Union, economic decline and the growth of the crisis in the capitalist countries—have progressed considerably during the past year, changing the international situation to the advantage of the Soviet Union.

During the past year, the Soviet Union has gone forward with the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years, has in general speeded up the rates of its fulfilment and in this, the third year, has fully completed the fulfilment of the plan in such important branches as engineering trades and oil. By overcoming the small-size peasant economy, with its low market productivity, which contained the deepest roots of capitalism, by means of all-round collectivisation and the liquidation on this foundation of the last class of capitalist exploitation, the class of kulaks, the U.S.S.R. has entered the period of Socialism and guaranteed the further, even swifter, Socialist development of the country. These successes of the Soviet Union were one of the main reasons why the military intervention, which had first been laid down for 1930, and later for 1931, had to be postponed by its initiators.

The capitalist world has, during the past year, been experiencing a further deepening of the economic crisis. In all the countries of the capitalist world the class-struggle has been growing more and more acute, the revolutionary surge of the masses and the forces of the proletariat have been increasing. In Spain the faintly "violet" revolution is faster and faster being transformed into a red revolution of the toiling masses, in China the Soviets and the Chinese Red Army have gathered strength, in India the revolutionary crisis is more and more threatening the rule of the English imperialists, in Poland and in Germany there has been a speeding up in the development of the premises required for a revolutionary crisis; finally, in England the broad masses have begun to move. The bourgeoisie is mobilising all its forces for the struggle against the rising revolutionary surge of the masses. The bourgeoisie is seeking for a way out of the economic crisis by intensifying its exploitation

and, by robbing the workers of their economic conquests and of their civil, "democratic" rights, is introducing extraordinary martial courts against the revolutionaries. The classes of exploiters are beginning to feel less and less confident. They are forced more and more to expose their dictatorship to the light of day and by the armed force of the troops and police to carry on the struggle against the growing revolutionary activity of the masses, while at the same time they draw into political activity the previously passive strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the impoverished peasants and various groups of more backward workers for the struggle against the revolutionary movement.

The Fascist organisations, which are an expression of the instability of the régime of the bourgeoisie and form a weapon for reinforcing its rule as against the revolution, and likewise the Fascisation of the governmental apparatus are beginning to play a constantly more important political rôle.

The imperialist system, which has been shaken by the economic crisis, is being more and more shattered by the growing contradictions within the camp of the imperialist governments, by the more and more acute inequality in their development, by the increasingly intense fight for markets and by the growing danger of new imperialist wars, which has already led to military actions and the piratical seizure of Chinese Manchuria by Japan. Imperialism, losing its head, in the fight for markets and for lessening the crisis, is, against its will, more and more aggravating the situation and shaking the system of imperialism, exposing ever more obviously its profound rottenness.

WAR MENACE

This growing contrast between the system of decaying capitalism and the system of Socialism which is being built up, under the conditions created by the greatest economic crisis in history, which has laid its grip on all the capitalist countries, has demonstrated with tremendous force the superiority of the system of Socialism as against the system of capitalism. The imperialist system sees a fatal danger for itself in the prosperity of the U.S.S.R. Therefore, the bourgeoisie is speeding up and intensifying its preparations for the imperialist war, the aim of which will be not only to open for imperialism the

approach to the Soviet market, but to destroy at its root the Soviet Socialist system, as one of the most important factors in the disintegration of capitalism. But the growing crisis obliges it, without waiting to carry out its big plans, to see a way on to the Soviet market by means of trade agreements. The policy of peace, carried on by the U.S.S.R., the exposure of the military preparations by court trials, the growing revolutionary surge of the masses, which is becoming more and more menacing to imperialism, all these factors compel the imperialists, in order to deceive the masses, to carry out the preparation for war under the camouflage of pacifist phrases (League of Nations, Kellogg Pact), which are being more and more unmasked.

Under such conditions, an ever greater rôle and ever greater significance for the international proletariat and the world revolution accrues to the October Revolution, to its experience, to the example of Socialist reconstruction and the policy of peace of the U.S.S.R. The October Revolution, which laid the foundation for the existence of the Socialist system, the military victory of the Russian proletariat over its own bourgeoisie and the successful repulsion of the intervention of the foreign bourgeoisie, has been a tremendous revolutionising force both in the West and in the East; at present, the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of Socialist reconstruction and collectivisation of agriculture, the successful carrying through of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, together with the swift increase in the welfare of the masses of workers and peasants and the growth of the strength and independence of the U.S.S.R. from the imperialist countries, represent a mighty lever for the disintegration of imperialism, for discrediting it in the eyes of the toilers and a tremendous force rousing the proletariat for the struggle and showing it the revolutionary way out of the capitalist anarchy, crisis, lawlessness, poverty, need, unemployment, and hunger. With Socialism growing stronger and stronger in the U.S.S.R., ever wider strata of the masses are beginning to realise more and more distinctly that the fate of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the cause of all the toilers, that the successes of the U.S.S.R. are undermining the power, the stability, the unshakableness of the imperialist countries and represent an assistance for the international revolutionary movement.

The international proletariat is becoming more and more convinced that at the bottom of the growing contrast between the U.S.S.R. and the countries of imperialism lies the fact that the Russian proletariat, by taking advantage of a series of favourable conditions, in October, 1917, was the first to break through the imperialist front

and, in alliance with the broad masses of the poorest peasantry, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the Russian Bolsheviks the victory of Socialism in a single country has never for a single minute been an aim in itself.

"The revolution in the victorious country must look upon itself not as a self-sufficient quantity, but as an assistance, a means, for speeding the victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of Socialism in a single country, in the given case, in Russia, is not merely the result of the irregular development and progressive decline of imperialism. It is, at the same time, the beginning and the premise for the world revolution." (From Stalin, "Questions of Leninism," 2nd edition, p. 123.)

OCTOBER—THE BEGINNING.

The October Revolution was looked upon by the international proletariat, not only as a Russian revolution, but also as the beginning of the international proletarian revolution, to which the international proletariat has shown and is showing its assistance and support by defending the U.S.S.R. against the military intervention of the imperialists. Without support, the first country to win out and break off from imperialism could not have held out. But, by giving help to the U.S.S.R. the international proletariat strengthened its own revolutionary positions in the struggle against imperialism. In this two-sided process of mutual support by the proletariat of the imperialist countries and the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. lies the essence of the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, in this lies the essence of internationalism at the present stage, in this lies the significance of the existence of the first Soviet country. These mutual relations were described as follows, as early as 1924, by Comrade Stalin in his "October Revolution and the Tactic of the Russian Bolsheviks":

"We see that the first country to break away (from imperialism: Ed.), the first country to win out is already supported by the masses of workers and toilers of the other countries. Without that support it could not have held out. Beyond any doubt, that support will increase and grow in strength. But it is likewise beyond doubt that the very development of the world revolution, the very process of the breaking off of a series of new countries from imperialism will take place the sooner and the more thoroughly Socialism becomes reinforced in the first country to win through to it, the faster that country is transformed into a basis for the further unfolding of the world revolu-

tion, into the lever for the further disintegration of imperialism." (J. Stalin, "Questions of Leninism," 2nd ed., p. 125.)

This prognosis was given by Comrade Stalin at a time when the land of Soviets, after the military victories of the October Revolution had only just begun its progress toward economic reconstruction, when it still had to prove that, by driving away the capitalists and landowners, it could attain incomparably greater successes and far greater rates of economic reconstruction than had been the case under the rule of the capitalists, and a swifter advance in the standard of living of the masses. The world proletariat has watched with enthusiasm to see how we would be able to set going the tremendous machinery of our country, which had been left in our hands, how we would make use of our power to eliminate the relics of capitalism and to build the Socialist society. When the proletarians of the U.S.S.R. set about carrying out the Five-Year Plan of Socialist reconstruction, when they began to speed up the rates of collectivisation and started to put through the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, they had the full support and sympathy of the broad masses of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, despite the calumny and slander of the Social Democratic leaders, the papal bulls and the encyclicals of the Archbishop of Canterbury, despite all the lies with which they wanted to frighten the proletariat of the capitalist countries away from the U.S.S.R. These colossal sympathies of the broad masses of workers, the growing will of the workers to defend the U.S.S.R. has been another very important reason why the capitalists up to now have not succeeded in organising a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Under conditions of the present economic crisis the broad masses of toilers see in the U.S.S.R. the model which they, as exploited and oppressed people under imperialism, must follow in order to escape from the crisis. This is the great revolutionising rôle of the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan and the collectivisation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., which awaken the faith of the proletariat in its own forces, rouse the masses for the proletarian revolution. The same, in even greater measure, is, at the new stage, the rôle of the U.S.S.R. as the greatest lever for disintegrating the imperialist system.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ATTACK U.S.S.R.

The Social Democrats, that fundamental social bulwark of capitalism and counter-revolution, today devote all their forces and efforts to lessening the influence of the U.S.S.R. on the proletariat of the imperialist countries and to discrediting it

as a model for the international proletariat, or, if that is impossible, at least, to prove that the European revolutions cannot follow the path of the Russian revolution, that "Russian methods," the methods of the Bolsheviks, cannot furnish in industrialised countries successes in any way similar to those of the U.S.S.R. The division of labour between the so-called right and "left" Social Democrats amounts to the "left" having shouldered the job of carrying on the anti-Soviet campaign by adapting themselves to the moods of the masses.

In their struggle against the October Revolution and the U.S.S.R., the Social Democrats, in so far as they are obliged to talk at all of the revolution, act, first of all, as bourgeois nationalists, trying to destroy the faith of the proletariat in the international solidarity of the working class.

Since they are bourgeois "socialists," limited by the sphere of influence and have become fused with its interests and views, they have created a counter-revolutionary theory, the most obvious representative of which is Otto Bauer, of the impossibility of revolution in such countries, for example, as Austria. In essence this "theory" likewise denies the possibility of revolution in Germany and other countries. While denying the presence of a general crisis of capitalism, they deny the significance of the October Revolution in the U.S.S.R. as the beginning of the world revolution and a support for revolution in other countries. In general they deny the influence of the revolution in any one country upon other countries. The sense and significance of these "theories" of Social Democracy lies only in robbing the proletariat of its faith in the real meaning of international proletarian solidarity and by this means to strengthen and consolidate the front of the imperialists against the proletarian revolution and save their own bourgeoisie from the revolution. It is plain that these "theories" which treat of "revolution" and "socialism" are the theories of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries for the struggle against the proletariat, the theories of the enemies of the proletarian revolution and of the U.S.S.R.

In their struggle against the October Revolution, the Social Democrats, in so far as they are compelled to acknowledge the successes of the U.S.S.R., attempt to prove that, if great economic achievements are possible in the agrarian U.S.S.R. on the basis of the "Bolshevist" dictatorship, such a dictatorship cannot give anything to the proletarians of the advanced industrial countries. The Viennese *Arbeiter Zeitung*, while acknowledging the tremendous importance of the opening of the Kharkov Tractor Factory and the

Moscow Automobile Factory, A.M.O., writes:

"It is comprehensible that the tasks in the Soviet Union are absolutely different from and opposite to tasks in capitalist countries. There is a colossal agrarian country with a small industry, which up to now had covered the demands for industrial products by import from abroad; there it is quite right to create their own internal industry in order to satisfy internal needs. Here on the other hand, we have industrial countries, whose industry had greatly increased its productivity thanks to rationalisation, and their production has now far surpassed their requirements; here the consumer must be found for the industry already in existence. That is an absolutely different task. And in as much as tasks vary, the methods for solving them must also be different."

The Social Democratic editors of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* were obliged to find this stupid "explanation" because they cannot help seeing

"what an impression is produced by the victories on the economic front of the U.S.S.R. on the working class of the entire capitalistic world. Here in the capitalist world we see plants shut down, unemployment, semi-unemployment, reduction of wages. There, on the other hand, in the country in which the factories and plants do not belong to the capitalists, but to the government and economy therefore is not subjected to capitalist anarchy but works according to a plan of economy, we see victories on the economic front." (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, same issue.)

But Messrs. the Social Democrats must not deceive themselves with the idea that they may succeed in persuading the toiling masses that in the capitalist countries quite other tasks are on the order of the day. The toiling masses know perfectly well that the heart of the matter is not overproduction in itself, or in the impoverishment of the working class and peasantry, that the question is not regarding markets of sale, but in the fact that imperialism has closed the fundamental internal market by lowering the wages to the level of the wages of colonial slaves, that it has shattered the foreign market by its régime of colonial exploitation. The working class understands that industry, when taken into the hands of the working class itself, will be faced by tremendous tasks of satisfying the requirements of the toilers of the country, that the dictatorship of the proletariat will find such colossal possibilities for exchanging the products of one country for that of others that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the second and later countries to break away from the system of imperialism will establish a firm political and economic alliance with the

U.S.S.R. and thus create colossal possibilities for its economic and cultural development, that in the lands of the dictatorship of the proletariat there cannot and will not be "frozen" capital and unutilised means of production, but the utilisation of all the means and resources will furnish tremendous possibilities for raising the living-standard of the masses and at an even greater speed than that is going on in the U.S.S.R. The Social Democrats understand all the revolutionising significance of the economic victories won by the U.S.S.R. and the menace to their "democracy" (i.e., imperialism) which arises on the basis of this thought about the prospects of the development of the capitalist countries. Therefore, they apply every means in order to discredit the U.S.S.R., to prove that the European proletariat should not follow in the path of the U.S.S.R. Idle efforts!

Social Democracy, in its fight against the October Revolution, tries to prove that in the U.S.S.R. there is no dictatorship of the proletariat and no socialism, but the "dictatorship of a terroristic minority" and capitalism. When pinned to the wall by the masses of workers, people from the Seidewitz group were compelled to declare that they would defend the U.S.S.R. despite the fact that there was a terrorist dictatorship of a minority, while a dictatorship of the proletariat, as Marx meant it, was impossible in Russia ("Our Attitude to Soviet Russia") and their colleagues to the right, getting mixed up in their predictions as to the breakdown of the Five Year Plan, are trying, on the basis of these same stupidities, about the "power of a terrorist minority," to convince people that it is merely carrying through primitive capitalist accumulation. Why is such nonsense needed by the pseudo-socialists? For naught else than to persuade the workers: don't take the path of revolutionary struggle, the setting up of a dictatorship of the proletariat! "Struggle" only by means of the electoral ballot for "democracy," that is, follow the old policy of social-fascism, and if the "paths of democracy" no longer arouse and organise the masses, then they must speak about "socialism" for "democracy."

Why do the social-fascists produce the "theory" of primitive capitalist accumulation and capitalism in the U.S.S.R.? Because this is the time, when in a series of countries the masses are, by long-continued need and poverty, by horrible unemployment and the decline of capitalist economy, being led to the proletarian revolution as their only escape, their aim is to disarm them by the lie that there is no socialism in the one country toward which all thoughts of the masses soar. Their only aim is, while acknowledging that which

even the enemy cannot help acknowledging, to carry on the struggle against the influence exerted by the achievements of the U.S.S.R. upon the revolutionary movement in their own countries. It is only in order to see capitalism instead of socialism that socialism must be pronounced capitalism. The "rights" and the "lefts," no matter how their arguments may vary, no matter how "radical" their "left" confessions of faith, agree on one thing: the struggle against the U.S.S.R. as the propagandist of Bolshevism. The "lefts" understand and forgive the "rights," for each one of them is fulfilling his own definite functions in the cause of defending capitalism. At that, the Austro-"Marxists" declare that they may postpone the "criticism" of the methods of Bolshevism, because "Austria itself is small and poor and does not belong to the deciding countries." But they "understand" the necessity for lies and slander spread against the U.S.S.R. by their German and other colleagues.

WHICH ROAD?

Capitalism has been profoundly shaken in the years since the war. The revolutionary crisis has laid hold of the countries of the West and East. The working masses have gone on to the streets to fight for socialism. They have been faced by two paths: the Social Democratic path and the Communist path. With the help of the old political apparatus of the working class, and thanks to the weakness of the Communist Party which had just been born, the Social Democrats succeeded in making themselves masters of the principal masses of workers, in order to shatter the proletarian revolution.

Whither has the path of Social Democracy led?

Whither has the path of Communism led?

In what way does the socialism of the Communists differ from the "socialism" of the Social Democrats?

The Russian proletariat, in alliance with the poorest strata of the peasantry, following the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, taking advantage of the favourable situation created at the close of the Imperialist War, broke through the front of imperialism at one of its weakest links and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. It created a government, its own organ of power, without any participation whatever of the bourgeoisie, broke up the old apparatus of government and created a new one, setting as its aim the struggle for the liquidation of the class society and the victory of socialism.

The October Revolution deprived the bourgeoisie of all means of production and transferred

them to the hands of the proletariat. One of its first and most important acts was to declare outlaw the principal party of Russian imperialism, the Cadet Party, and to carry out a determined and merciless struggle to drive out of the country all the agents of the bourgeoisie. It shattered the capitalist class in open military struggle, and, having isolated the petty bourgeois parties from the masses, destroyed them by that very fact, and by the fact that it satisfied the demands of the peasant masses. During the period of N.E.P. it taught the masses to manage the apparatus of production and to organise the distribution of the output. On the basis of N.E.P. the communists solved the question of "Who-whom?" "Who beat down whom" and, with the assistance of the entire governmental apparatus, by developing the initiative and spontaneous activity of the masses, by mobilising the forces of the entire proletariat, they secured rates of progress in socialist industry never before seen in the world. They transformed labour into the cause of honour for each proletarian. They guaranteed the beginning of the far-flung socialist offensive on all fronts, guaranteed by our internal forces the victory of socialism.

The Social Democrats, wholly betraying the teachings of Marx and Engels, and turning into a bourgeois workers' party, and splitting the working class in the countries in which there was a revolutionary situation, took the head of all counter-revolutionary forces to fight against the proletarian revolution. In Germany, by promoting from their ranks such butchers as Noske, Severing, etc., and summoning to their assistance such of the Kaiser's generals as Groener, Seeckt, Gessler, etc., they shattered the revolutionary forces of the proletariat after first disorganising them by "revolutionary" phrases and promises of "democracy," "liberty" and "socialism," which, granted the leaving of the means of production in the hands of the capitalists, could be nothing other than a weapon of counter-revolutionary suppression and deception of the masses.

They left in fact the old governmental apparatus which served for the exploitation and oppression of the toilers. In the name of the integrity of economy they preserved factories from nationalisation, declaring that ruined factories and debts could not be nationalised, and they pronounced the interests of capitalist economy and of the employers' dividends the highest interests of society. They declared the class struggle dangerous for the workers, since it hindered the development of economy. They declared the employers and workers equal citizens in public economy and in order to deceive the vigilance of the masses, left the plants in the hands of the employers. By

this they reinforced the power of the capitalists and reduced the working class to a condition of ever greater loss of rights.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AID CAPITAL.

In the name of "democracy" they granted the bourgeoisie all possibilities for organising and uniting for the fight against the proletariat. They have given their liberty to the princes, generals, Hitlers, Seitels, they are passing laws for the struggle against the communists and other revolutionary organisations. They have promoted the Pilsudskies, Severings and MacDonalds from their ranks.

Under the present conditions of economic crisis they have been the principal assistants of the bourgeoisie in lowering wages, in reducing the relief of unemployed and the principal tools of the terror against the revolutionary organisations of the workers. They are carrying out the "healing" of capitalism at the expense of the workers, by carrying out in fact the socialisation of the debts of the capitalists and leaving the factories in the hands of these same capitalists. They declared that socialism meant the introduction of such elementary bourgeois reforms as social insurance, municipal housing, right of general elections, they declared that it was a piece of socialism to have nineteen Prussian chiefs-of-police, in order to leave the means of production in the hands of the capitalists.

At present, under conditions of economic crisis, the communists are summoning for the mobilisation of all the forces of the working class for the fight to overthrow capitalism, for the revolutionary escape from the crisis, for the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Social Democrats are backing the Fascisation of the imperialist governmental apparatus under cover of talk about the proletariat's being weakened by the crisis and not capable of struggle under present conditions. At present, the Social Democrats are trying to deceive the masses, who are turning to the left, by advancing supposedly radical slogans, which are popular among the masses but which are nonsense without the destruction of the power of the classes of exploiters; they talk about "socialism" as the task of the present day, but they are unwilling for the sake of socialism to deprive even a single employer of his dividends. They pretend to wish to defend "democracy," and are defending the right of the capitalists to exploit the workers, they approach the masses with the slogan, "Give us power" in order to distract the attention of the masses from the way in which they are now using their power in the Prussian, English, Danish governments, how they used or are using their power as the strongest party in the German Reichstag,

in the English, Danish, Austrian and other parliaments.

SHAKING OF CAPITAL.

The present economic crisis is growing* more and more acute. In growing in depth and severity, it is shattering the economic system of imperialism. The entire apparatus of the circulation of credit, the monetary system, is being shaken. The class struggle is growing more and more intense and ever fresh strata of the broad masses are brought into movement. In Poland the strike movement is already being fused with the movement of the unemployed. In England the century-old traditions of reformism are being shattered and the masses are being forced on to the streets. The premises of the revolutionary crisis in Germany and Poland are growing faster and faster, the Spanish revolution is growing in profundity, the old conservative political system of England is being shaken. A whole series of governments is already obliged to reflect as to by what paths and what means power can be kept in the hands of the exploiting classes. There is yet no revolutionary crisis, but it is approaching. The possibility for the proletariat to break through the imperialist front at one of its weakest links is coming closer and closer. The uneven, catastrophic development in the period of imperialism renders it most probable that in the future the world revolution will continue to develop by the revolutionary withdrawal of one separate country or of a series of countries from the system of the imperialist countries, together with the growth in the premises of the revolutionary crisis or of revolutionary crises themselves in other countries, with the support of the proletarians of these countries which withdraw from imperialism by the proletariat of the imperialist countries. The growing crisis will topple over the principal social bulwark of the bourgeoisie, Social Democracy. In Germany and Poland the ferment in the Social Democracy has already taken on such proportions that the beginning of its crisis must be taken account of. In England, in the ranks of the Labour Party processes are going on which are bound to lead to the fall of its weight and authority among the masses and to the rapid advance of the Communist Party. Social Democracy, which has linked its fate with capitalism, cannot avoid the processes of decay which are at work throughout the capitalist system. But the far developed crisis of Social Democracy, the loss of its influence on the masses, the isolation of its leadership would by themselves signify the presence of such great social changes, during which the question of power has been put to the proletariat in its direct form.

Under such conditions the underlying danger is

the opportunist loss of perspective, opportunist unwillingness or incapacity to mobilise, to organise, to educate and rouse the masses for the struggle. Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, incapable of patiently, day by day, training the masses for the revolutionary struggle, sometimes fall into a panic, into pessimism, into lack of faith, sometimes come forward with fiery phrases, calling the present situation a fully-developed revolutionary crisis (in order to "convince themselves" that the Communists are "incapable" of leading the masses to the struggle) and to go home quietly to sleep. The Philistines of the revolution, Brandler and Talheimer, the traitors to Marxism, are trying to prove that the present situation is riper for revolution than in 1923. After trying to justify their own opportunist position of 1923 by falsifying history, they are now likewise, by means of falsification, trying to arraign the present leadership of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International. There is no need to refute these double falsifications, but they prove once more that "left" impatience is but one of the forms of right-wing opportunism.

CONDITIONS OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

Under present conditions, with the growth of the premises of the revolutionary crisis, all problems connected with the October Revolution are becoming extremely burning questions of the day for the proletariat of the imperialist countries. The October Revolution took place under conditions which were especially favourable for the proletarian revolution. These favourable conditions were summed up in the fact that the October Revolution had its beginning in a period of desperate struggle between two main imperialist groups, which had no chance immediately to devote serious attention to the fight against the October Revolution—in a period when, as a result of the imperialist war, the masses had been led right up to revolution as the only way out of the situation that had arisen—in a period when we had the maturing of a revolutionary crisis in West and East and a mighty revolutionary movement in Europe. The victory of the October Revolution was rendered easier by the fact that it had back of it the most active support of the majority of the working class and the undoubted support of the poorer peasants and the majority of the soldiers, headed and led by the party of the Bolsheviks, which was strong, experienced and strongly linked with the masses. This revolution was rendered easier by the fact that the Russian bourgeoisie represented a comparatively weak enemy in a country possessing tremendous

material resources which the revolution was able to turn to immediate use.

AND OURS.

It is plain that there is not a single country at present possessing all these conditions in proportions such as they possessed by the October Revolution, but in return there is one condition which was lacked by the October Revolution, but which has significance of the first order. That condition, which at present facilitates the victory of the world proletariat, is the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the existence and prosperity of the U.S.S.R.

Whether capitalism will succeed in escaping the crisis and in dragging out its anaemic existence for some time further in all the present capitalist countries or whether, as an outcome of this crisis, it will be entirely paralysed by the withdrawal of fresh countries from its system, as the proletariat succeeds in winning the victory in them, this depends at bottom on the further development of the break-up of the imperialist system, and, at the same time, it depends on the forces and capacity of the proletariat for opening up the revolutionary escape from the crisis. In order to break through the front of imperialism, it is necessary for the proletariat to be able to deal a blow at imperialism in its weakest link, strong enough to overthrow the power of capital. In order to deal this blow, the Communist Party must be capable of mobilising, organising, educating the masses for that.

"There are no absolutely hopeless situations.

The bourgeoisie is acting like a bandit who has grown bold and lost his head. They are committing one stupidity after another, aggravating the situation, hastening their own ruin. All this is true, but one cannot 'prove' that there is absolutely no possibility for it to lull to sleep some minority or other of the exploited masses by some little concessions or other, for it not to suppress some movement, some insurrection of any particular part of the oppressed and exploited people. To attempt to prove in advance absolute absence of escape for them would be empty pedantry or playing with concepts and words. The real proof in that and in similar questions can be only practice. Throughout the world the bourgeois order is experiencing a great revolutionary crisis. We must show by the practical work of the revolutionary parties that they have sufficient consciousness, organisation, connection with the exploited masses, determination, ability, to take advantage of this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution" (Lenin, v. XXV.).

These words were pronounced by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Communist International, under conditions of a revolutionary situation. At present there is no revolutionary crisis in the decisive capitalist countries, but those duties which were stated by Lenin for preventing the bourgeoisie from escaping from the crisis, hold true for to-day in the same proportion. The bourgeoisie is seeking the way out by plundering the working class. This possibility of escape may be blocked by a successful strike movement. It is seeking the avenue of escape in war and especially in a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. In order that capitalism may not make use of this avenue of escape, the proletariat must reinforce its struggle against war and in defence of the U.S.S.R.

What do we mean by having sufficient consciousness under the present conditions?

That means to be able to expose the desperate, most "left" manoeuvres of Social Democracy, to expose its attempts to deceive the masses by the slogans of "democracy," "liberty," "socialism," "control of the banks," "State capitalism," the capitalist form of nationalisation, by its pseudo-revolutionary character. That signifies the exposure of the attempts of Social Democracy to camouflage its counter-revolutionary shamelessness by catching up the popular slogans and cries put forward by the communists, by transforming them into counter-revolutionary slogans (Five-Year Plan in Austria, monopoly of foreign trade, the "Soviet system" of Seidewitz, etc., etc., repeated in Britain and elsewhere); this signifies complete clarity in ideology within our own ranks, the utilisation to the full of the experience of previous revolutions, especially of the Great October Revolution. That means, first of all, the struggle against the most "left" fractions and varieties of reformism, as the last barrier of capitalism. For this purpose, no compromises whatever with the Social Democratic aristocracy, with its leaders who are "turning left," but ability to isolate these very "left" leaders (that is, the most pernicious ones) first of all from the masses. Merciless struggle against all vestiges of Social Democracy in our own ranks, against the theory of the double-edge of left phrases, against such views as that they are all socialists, all a part of the Marxist camp. No formulae, no negotiations, no pact-making that might confuse the masses and lessen the sharpness of the struggle against social-fascism. For the decisive success of the proletariat is conditioned by isolating the social-fascists from the masses.

What do we mean by "having sufficient organisation under the present conditions"?

That means concentration and unity of the Com-

munist leadership which is heading the movement of the broad masses. That means the united front of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party and alliance with the broad masses of the poorest peasants and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities. That signifies a firm, unconditional, militant discipline in the ranks of the Communists, which permits both swift offensive and retreat in case of necessity.

What, under present conditions, is meant by sufficient connection with the exploited masses?

That means being closely bound up with the broadest masses at their place of work. That means transferring the all-centre of gravity of the Party work to the factories, the formation of a strong organisational basis in the factory-cells, closely linked up with the broadest masses of the workers. That means rallying around the Party the disinherited mass of unemployed. That means the formation of strong communist fractions in all the mass organisations of the working class, first of all, in the trade unions and the factory committees. That signifies the creation of points of support for the Party in all villages, in all country towns, everywhere where there are toiling and exploited people.

What is meant, under these conditions, by having sufficient determination to make the most of this crisis?

At the given stage that signifies ability to advance with sufficient swiftness, determination and skill the slogans and tasks which mobilise the masses for the fight against capitalism and to show the revolutionary avenue of escape. That means, to put before the masses slogans and tasks corresponding to the more advanced strata of the working class, to draw the backward, confused, Social Democratic elements up level with them, despite the demagogy and desperate yelpings of Social Democracy. That means leading the masses into the economic struggle, by leading them from the elementary to higher and more complicated forms suited to the given stages of revolutionary development, without fearing the persecutions of the bourgeoisie, and by combining legal and illegal methods. The economic strike for the demands of the labouring masses, which prepares the way for the mass political strike, the struggle of the unemployed for bread, such are the tasks of the day.

Under conditions of the revolutionary situation that will signify ability to choose the proper moment when, granted the sober appraisal of all the forces and conditions of the proletariat, it may be possible to go over to the decisive offensive and to the overthrow of the power of the exploiting classes. And the Communist Parties will bear

full responsibility for the expediency, strength, and outcome of all revolutionary actions.

ISOLATING THE "LEADERS."

All this, taken together, signifies ability to apply the tactic of the united front in such a way as to isolate the leaders, the upper level of the counter-revolutionary organisations, by in fact winning over the masses to our side. The robbing of the workers of their pay and the unemployed of their out-of-work relief will continue, the introduction of new taxes and the exaction of the old ones are inevitable, the persecution of the class organisations of the proletariat is inevitable. The workers do not want that and cannot want it, no matter what organisation they may belong to. At the same time the dividends of the capitalists remain, are kept and increase, the army of parasites is not reduced, bank speculations continue, nay, military expenditures have not only increased colossally but are still increasing, new wars are being prepared. The workers do not want that and cannot want it. They are being offered the control of the banks by Government officials, they are being offered reforms and little slices of reforms, which no one has any idea of carrying out and which no one can carry out. They are told, "Fight for democracy," which means the preservation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its being saved from the proletarian revolution. Not one worker to whom this is explained in a sensible way can agree to this. And this is the basis for the united front under the leadership of the Communist Party, this is the basis for isolating the social-fascists.

The crisis is becoming more and more torturing for the masses. The further worsening of their position and the growth of unemployment promise

them endless sufferings. The revolutionary avenue of escape also promises them sufferings, but these sufferings are the briefest ones. The revolutionary crisis holds forth a swift and decisive progress. The understanding of this is being anchored in the masses. Thus, a situation is approaching in which in several countries the natural conclusion for the masses will become the idea that the proletarian revolution is the only, the least torturing and least severe, way out of the chaos created by capitalism. Under the present conditions the toiling masses, just like the Russian workers in the days of the October Revolution, may count on the fact that, after breaking through the imperialists' front in one or several countries, representing the weakest links of the capitalist system, they will not be left in isolation; they will have the support both of the already existing Soviet governments and also incomparably greater support than had the U.S.S.R. from the proletarians of the countries in which the capitalists will still remain in power. The experience of the October Revolution and of the socialist reconstruction in the U.S.S.R. show that it is only extreme opportunists who can talk about the revolutionary actions of the working class being isolated.

In the struggle against the bourgeoisie's attempts to isolate the separate revolutionary movements, to break them into parts, the chief, the decisive importance belongs to the defence of the U.S.S.R. against intervention.

That is the first task of every proletarian revolutionary.

For the defence of the U.S.S.R., for the defence of the needs and demands of the working masses and the poorest peasantry, for the overthrow of the yoke of capitalism.

For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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NEW CONDITIONS, NEW TASKS AND NEW SLANDERS

The Six Points of Stalin

By MARTYNOV.

I.—THE RESPONSE OF THE CLASS ENEMY TO THE SPEECH OF COMRADE STALIN.

ON June 23rd, 1931, Stalin delivered a speech to the economic leaders which was of great significance and which gave the directions for the entire economic policy of the U.S.S.R. for the present period. In it Stalin called attention to the inequality of the rate of development of industry during the first five months of the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan:—

"There are branches of industry in which production in the past five months has increased 40 to 50 per cent., as compared with the corresponding period last year. There are other branches in which the increase in production is not more than 20 to 30 per cent. And, finally, there are certain branches that show a much smaller increase, only 8 to 10 per cent., and even less. Among the latter must be counted coal mining and iron and steel production. The picture, as you see, is a chequered one.

"What is the explanation? What is the cause of the backwardness of certain branches of industry? Why is it that certain branches of industry show an increase of only 20 to 25 per cent., and coal mining and iron and steel even less, and are trailing behind other branches?

"The cause lies in the fact that the conditions of development of industry have been undergoing a profound change and that a new situation has been created that requires new methods of leadership, whereas certain of our business leaders, instead of adapting their methods to the new conditions, are working in the old, old way."

Further, Stalin enumerated six new conditions and drew from them new tasks: (1) The stoppage of the flight of the peasant from the village, thanks to the development of collectivisation; the upheaval in the village, re-adjusting the village population and improving the position of the peasantry on one side, and the rapid development of industry on the other, had led to the liquidation of unemployment. Therefore for the ensurance of labour it is necessary at the moment to mechanise the more arduous labour processes and organise for labour supply by means of collective agreements with the collective farms. (2) Due to an incorrect organisation of wages and "leftist" equalising of payment, the fluidity of

labour had been greatly heightened; this could not be tolerated to-day in the conditions of wide reconstruction of industry and the raising of the degree of technique. Therefore the task is to liquidate the fluidity of labour, destroy the equalised system, correctly organise wage payments, and improve the living conditions of the workers. (3) We have as the "illegitimate by-product of the uninterrupted working week" often a lack of personal responsibility, i.e., a complete absence of any definite person in charge to distribute work, superintend machinery, shops and tools. In the colossal scale of industry and present productive giants the absence of personal responsibility is harming industry. Therefore the task of liquidation of lack of personal responsibility and correct distribution of forces to the undertakings. (4) With the present gigantic scale of industry we cannot proceed with the minimum of engineer-technical and commanding force of industry which we made do formerly. Therefore the task—the working class must create its own productive technical intelligentsia. (5) Two years previously the entire situation demanded in connection with the old technical intelligentsia a policy of destruction of active saboteurs and splitting off neutral and attracting of loyal elements. Now after we have destroyed and successfully transformed the capitalist elements in towns and villages, after we have overcome the grain difficulties, after the intervention hopes of the bourgeois intelligentsia showed themselves to be, if only to a slight extent, built on sand, the signs of change showed themselves amongst the old productive technical intelligentsia. Therefore the task—change the attitude towards the engineering-technical forces of the old school, more attention and solicitude, and boldly invite their co-operation. (6) In the gigantic tasks with which our industry is faced the old sources of accumulation no longer suffice. Therefore the task—to insist that heavy industry and, above all, the machine tool industry, also provides accumulation. Therefore it is necessary to introduce and strengthen businesslike methods and thus raise the internal industrial capital accumulation.

The six points of Stalin have transformed into a complete system that which previously the Party had often had to introduce into various sections of economy, and gave a powerful drive towards a new advance of productive enthusiasm in the

land of Soviets. Our class enemies in the capitalist countries have foreseen this effect of the speech of Stalin and also how this new movement of productive enthusiasm in the U.S.S.R. will affect the mood of the working-class masses in the capitalist world, who are sinking deeper and deeper under the burden of the prolonged capitalist crisis. Precisely for this reason the speech of Stalin has greatly alarmed them, and they hasten to try and weaken its effect by a stream of lies and slander.

At the start complete unanimity ruled in their camp on this point.

"Freiheit" wrote on the 10th July, 1931, "From Hitler to Wells there is not one financial or other paper which has not commented on the speech of Stalin in screaming fashion: 'The return to capitalism,' 'The Volga fascist Stalin,' 'The final about-face from Communism.'"

Rapidly, however, discords sounded in this united choir. The open capitalist press observed that such painfully obvious lies might harm the capitalists themselves: if the "Bolshevik experiment" was definitely bankrupt, if the Bolsheviks already found it necessary to return to capitalism, then what sense would there be in the cry of "Bolshevik danger" and "Soviet dumping," etc.? Therefore the capitalist press commenced to more carefully assess the Stalin speech.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes on 10th July:—

"The speech of Stalin may be compared to a certain degree with the speech of Lenin, which in 1921 led the march from military communism to the N.E.P. (This, of course, is nonsense; the speech of Stalin had no intention of the slightest extension of N.E.P.—A.M.) But it would be incorrect to conclude from the present reforms that an inclination to the road leading to the capitalist system obtains. This under no circumstances is in view . . . In the struggle between social and economic thought economy has made a powerful step forward. This introduction of private-economy principles obviously is connected with the revision of the new Five-Year Plan. Although nobody doubts any more that the revised Five-Year Plan will in the main reach its objective; but these aims were reached at the price of sacrifices in both time and money — sacrifices which it is now desired to exclude."*

So the bourgeois paper is forced to admit, while holding its heart, that the Five-Year Plan in the main has achieved its objectives and that there can be no talk of a return of the Soviet Power to the road to capitalism.

The social fascist press conducts itself otherwise. They are agents for the bourgeoisie, who have made a profession of the deceit of the work-

ing mass, and they continue the unconcealed lies and slanders on the Soviet Power in connection with the speech of Stalin undisturbed by the fact that they will be caught by their own statements.

Their lies and slanders have two aims. First, they endeavour, according to the established example of thieves, to distract the attention of the working mass in capitalist countries from the frantic attack of capital on the standard of life of the workers carried on there with their active co-operation, and suggest that the real attack on the workers by means of capitalist methods is not there, but in the U.S.S.R., and that the official declaration of this attack is the speech of Stalin.

The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" writes on 8th July, under the heading "Capitalist course of Stalin," as follows: "The methods which the Soviet Government is now initiating are plainly capitalist. In its working-class policy the Soviet Government is leaving the side of collectivism."

The Social Democratic press of the Rhineland lies still more openly. The "Deutsche Berg Volkstimme" of 15th July: "The entire appeal shows that Stalin wants to find salvation by transferring his Government and his subjects to the fruitful field of world capitalism. He burns his bridges behind him for this . . . The Bolshevik experiment nears its end."

Secondly, the Social Democrats, in order to distract the attention of the working mass from the unprecedented economic crisis, from which the bourgeois together with them vainly seeks to emerge, insinuate to the workers that not the capitalist system is going bankrupt, but the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Power. "Vorwaerts," in contradistinction to its bourgeois colleague, "Frankfurter Zeitung," declares that, thanks to the failure of the Five-Year Plan, Stalin has struck a new course. On the 9th July, in an article entitled "Whence the about-face of Stalin?" "Vorwaerts" feeds its readers with the fairy-tale that "for three months—March, April, May—in the entire Union 930,000 tons less coal was produced" than in the corresponding period of the previous year. From this fable and similar distortions and perversion of the actual picture of the economic situation of the U.S.S.R., "Vorwaerts" concludes that the Five-Year Plan is not being realised and therefore Stalin is constrained to change the policy.

In order to nail to the table of shame these swindlers of the pen we attempt in this article to explain in what exactly consists the new situation which impelled Stalin to raise before the Party the new tasks and in what precisely consists the importance of these tasks if we approach them from the point of view of the fight for

*All quotations re-translated from Russian.

Socialism and not the fight for capitalism, as the social-fascist gentlemen do.

2.—THE SITUATION—THE RESULT OF A YEAR OF SHARPENED CLASS STRUGGLE AND WORLD-HISTORICAL VICTORY.

In the pages of the "C.I.," on the 1st November, 1929, number, we described the path of struggle for the strategical plan worked out by the C.P.S.U. at its 15th Congress, in an article entitled "How the Bolsheviks formulate a plan and prepare for the struggle, and overcome obstacles." Now we may describe the continuation of this road.

The previous work of the Party created in the second half of 1929 a change-over in the mood of the peasantry, resulting in their mass entrance into the collective farms. From the moment that the Party at its 1929 Congress (15th) passed to the wide socialist attack the kulak and the counter-revolutionary intelligentsia raised its head inside the country, and abroad the preparation of the intervention against the U.S.S.R. commenced. When the mass entrance into the collective farms took place, and Stalin on the basis of this mass collectivisation put forward the slogan of the liquidation of the kulak as a class, in December, 1929, the class struggle in the U.S.S.R. assumed sharper forms and the danger of intervention became an immediate one. We recall the well-known facts. Inside the U.S.S.R. the kulaks displayed a fierce opposition to collectivisation and the extended Socialist attack.

Simultaneously, the wreckers of the Industrial Party, together with the Kondratyev group and the Mensheviks, carried on their sabotage work. At the same time the imperialists, with French imperialism at their head, commenced frantic preparations for intervention, pre-arranged for 1930. This, after the middle of 1929, when the attempt was made to attack the U.S.S.R. by the seizure of the Far East Railway. After this attempt was liquidated, at the end of the year, the Pope of Rome announced a "crusade" in the beginning of 1930, and later in the summer of 1930 the attempts were made to organise an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. under the slogan of the struggle against "Soviet dumping."

All these wide counter-attacks of the bourgeoisie inside the country and on her borders were repelled by the Party. It emerged from a period of one year's bitter struggle victorious on all fronts. The opposition of the kulak was crushed and the mass collectivisation of the village strengthened. The wreckers' organisations were shattered and their leaders compelled to divulge to the court those who had inspired them. The

immediate intervention against the U.S.S.R. was prevented.

As a result of this victory the December plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. could draft its "people's economic plan" for "the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan" with a firm hand.

These are the victories and, above all, the world-historical victory in the villages of the transfer of more than one half of the peasantry from individual undertakings to collective farms, which created the new conditions, of which Stalin spoke in his speech. Not the defeat of the Five-Year Plan, as the slanderous "Vorwaerts" asserts, but on the contrary the colossal success in the industrialisation and the decisive victory in the village over capitalism, created the new situation which confronted the Party with new tasks.

Thanks to the rapid spread of industrialisation the number of workers and the demand for labour grew as nowhere else and never before. In 1926 there were in the S.U. a total of 3,266,000 workers directly engaged in industry. After four years, in 1930 this number had more than doubled—7,462,000. After one more year, in 1931 the number had again increased nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ million—8,863,000.

At the same time, thanks to the mass collectivisation of the village and the improvement in the position of the peasantry, and the consequent cessation of the flight of the peasant from the village, the stream of labour power from the villages strongly declined.

As a result of these two reasons the Soviet Power could announce on 11th October, 1930, that unemployment in the S.U. is liquidated—a fact also of colossal historical importance. This means that in place of unemployment we have labour shortage, i.e., in the U.S.S.R. we experience already not a surplus but an insufficiency of free labour. From this proceeds the first task called attention to by Com. Stalin.

Thanks to the stormy development of industry, "the tariff rate adjustments did not suffice for the achievements introduced into industry in the field of mechanisation, improved organisation of labour did not reflect the new professions and qualifications in connection with the appearance of new processes."

In the same time that industry has sweepingly developed, "the system of wages declined to the standard of the lowest technical category—reflecting the obsolete organisation of labour." [(See M. Yampolsky, "Questions of wages in the present period.") From the Journal, "Problems of Economy," No. 6, 1931, p. 6.] This led to "equalisation," i.e., to a state of affairs where qualified skilled workers received often no more but even less than unskilled. This created the

enormous fluidity of labour, and the necessity for the second task proposed by Stalin, the transforming of the "equalisation" and the systematic introduction of payment by results. In the village this task was necessitated by the fact that the mass entrance of the peasantry into the collective farms had not yet produced in them any productive enthusiasm and brings many "consumers" tendencies which greatly assist the kulaks and their supporters to sneak into the collective farms. The shortage of labour in industry in connection with the improvement of the position of the peasantry made necessary also the intensified mechanisation of the heavier labour processes. Needless to say, the tasks of introduction of technique and introduction everywhere of costing systems for the development of new sources of accumulation and the training of our technical intelligentsia also proceed from our victory—from the rapid growth of industry.

Finally, the change of attitude to the old technical intelligentsia proceeds from the great strengthening of the international position of the Soviet Union. Therefore, as we see, all new tasks formulated by Stalin proceed from the successes of the Soviet Power on different fronts, creating a new situation.

It is true that the realisation of these tasks has been particularly difficult in certain important fields (transport, coal, metal), that we have here in conjunction with an absolute rise, backwardness in comparison with the general stormy advance, to which Stalin drew attention in his speech ("some with 6-10 per cent. increase, and less"). This backwardness is not the result of the impossibility of realising the Five-Year Plan, but because our Party has not yet succeeded here in arranging work to suit the conditions of the general victorious march forward. Therefore the Party, above all, applies all levers at these points.

3.—THE NEW TASKS IN THE NEW SITUATION, IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST AND THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY OF SOCIAL FASCISTS.

The new conditions created as a result of the entire broad socialist attack and the emergence of the Party victoriously on all fronts, after a year of heavy struggle in 1930, consist in the change in the social structure of the country and the relationship of class forces, that the field of socialist construction is widened to a colossal extent and the annual industrial production of factories and shops has reached more than double pre-war level.

The decisive transfer of agriculture to socialist development has taken place. The collective farmer has become the central figure of agricul-

ture. The liquidation of the last remnant of the capitalist class, the kulak, has commenced. Unemployment has been abolished. The socialist contests of the leading workers assumed colossal scope. The U.S.S.R. has entered the period of socialism, as Stalin observed already at the 16th Congress of the Party.

These colossal achievements enabled the Soviet Power to formulate for 1931 the grand scale programme of converting that year into the decisive year for the realisation of the slogan, "The Five-Year Plan in four years."

All this denoted that before the Soviet Power stood, in all its sharpness, in all its growth and new conditions, the task of the socialist organisation of labour.

It was necessary in the conditions of the liquidation of unemployment and the uprooting of the differentiation of classes in the village to find new impulses for the attraction of labour power to socialist industry. It was necessary to find new sources of accumulation for the further rapid development of this industry. It was necessary to eliminate the state of affairs resulting from the previous intensity of labour in our factories and works, where the workers still work considerably less for themselves than in countries where the workers work to enrich exploiters.

This feature must be all the more eliminated in so far as the Soviet proletariat had to impose on itself, and still imposes, the task of catching and overtaking the capitalist countries in a short historical period. It was necessary to interest millions of people, only just drawn into socialist industry, and draw them on grounds of this interest into socialist competition already encompassing the broad proletarian active section.

It was necessary to inculcate into these gigantic new strata socialist labour discipline. Every economic formation has its own form of discipline. Lenin, in his work, "The Great Initiative," wrote:—

"The feudal organisation of social labour rested on the discipline of the stick, in conjunction with the utmost darkness and oppression of the toilers who were robbed and over whom the landlords ruled. The capitalist organisation rested on the discipline of hunger, and the vast mass of the toilers, despite the entire progress of bourgeois culture and bourgeois democracy, has remained in the most advanced civilised and democratic republics a dark and crushed mass of wage slaves or exploited peasants who are robbed and over whom the capitalists rule. The communist organisation of social labour, the first step to which is socialism, rests upon the free and conscious discipline of the toilers themselves; being

stronger the more they destroy the landlords and capitalists."

To instil this new discipline is not quick or easy.

"The new discipline, the labour discipline, the discipline of comradesly connections, the discipline of the Soviets encompasses obviously millions of toilers and exploited. We have no pretensions to a rapid success in this, and do not count upon one. We know that this business occupies a whole historical epoch."

In order to instil this new discipline into millions of toilers still possessed of individualistic habits, first entering the collective farm or the socialist factory, the Party has to approach them from the side of their *personal interests and individual responsibility*. *It was necessary to apply leverage to exactly that point which in capitalist society serves the purpose of the ruling bourgeoisie as a weapon for splitting and strengthening the exploitation of the working class, but which in the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, serves the dictatorship of the proletariat as a means attracting millions to the cause of the working class.*

The new tasks which Stalin formulated, fundamentally consist in applying force to these levers of personal interest and responsibility, in the new conditions to give a powerful push to Socialist construction.

To those who do not understand the deep root difference in the rôle of the factor of personal interest in capitalist and Soviet economy, for them the new tasks of our Party in the S.U. remain a sealed book. Those who, as the social fascists, have sold their whole soul to capitalism and hate the Soviet power will find in the new tasks which our Party and the U.S.S.R. now approaches, the material for an unlimited campaign of lying and slander and will certainly utilise them as such.

The Social Democracy which requires to prove that the struggle of the Soviet Power against "equalisation" and for payment by results denotes the introduction of the worst methods of capitalist exploitation, is in a very difficult situation. "Vorwaerts" in its number dated 1st July, 1931, carries an article entitled "Stalin retreats." To the great pleasure of the capitalist press in criticising the present course of the C.P.S.U. on the question of wages it is compelled to admit that the reformist unions in Germany in the period from inflation to stabilisation also appeared against equalisation, against no increases in wages. But according to "Vorwaerts" of course in capitalist Germany everything is all right and in the land of the proletarian dictatorship everything is bad. "Here," says "Vorwaerts," "appear openly two motives. The new wage system built up in Germany by the T.U.s with the help of the State social policy proceeds from the motive

of giving work to those to whom it belongs by right. This was realised from the point of view of the interests of the workers. On the contrary, the about-turn of Stalin for differentiation in wage rates is a means of rationalisation. Not equity—but a motive stimulating production is for him a high principle."

Perhaps nowhere does the bourgeois capitalist exploitation origin of the ideology of modern social democracy appear so clearly as in these lines of "Vorwaerts." According to "Vorwaerts" the introduction of payment by results in Germany is a matter of "equality" corresponding to the just demands of the workers. Allowing that the German workers actually demanded this! Does that mean that these demands were just? By no means. The workers could have demanded this only because they still have bourgeois tendencies, "birth-marks of the old society," as Marx expressed it. From the viewpoint of Communists these demands are not equalitarian. Is it, for example, "equitable" that a worker gifted with more physical strength should therefore receive more wages and live on a higher standard than one who was born weaker, and that one born very weak—one incapable of work—should starve? Is it equality when workers with large families receive the same as bachelors? Decidedly not. Equality in the higher stage of Communism will terminate in the condition where each will work according to his ability and receive according to his needs. "Vorwaerts" speaks here of equality because it is itself saturated in bourgeois ideology. But this is not all and not the main point in this case. In "Vorwaerts" the question is of payment by results in Germany in capitalist society. What piece-work means in that society has already been explained sufficient times by Marx.

"Wages by the piece are nothing else than a converted form of wages by time, just as wages by time are a converted form of the value or price of labour power."

—"Capital," Vol. I., P. 602. Kerr edition.

To the extent that piece work rates in capitalist society are a form of the price of labour power, as a commodity, to that extent piece rates influence the general wage rates of the working class, depending upon the degree to which this form of wages influences the competition between those placing this commodity, labour power, on the market. To this question, how does piece work affect the competition between workers? Marx answered:

"Piece work tends to develop . . . the labourers' competition one with another. It has therefore a tendency, while raising individual wages above the average, to lower this average itself."

—"Capital," Vol I., p. 607. Kerr edition.

Therefore we observe that the reformist T.U.s working for the introduction of piece work rates in Germany, according to Marx, at the same time worked for the lowering of the standard of life of the workers, increased the exploitation of the working class. This was "equality" from the viewpoint of the capitalist class and the Social Democrats, but very unequal and bad from that of the working class.

How stands the question in the U.S.S.R.? Do the Bolsheviks regard the payment by results system introduced by them as "equality"? By no means. They are compelled to employ these methods to the extent that the workers in the transitional period, the first stage of Socialism and even further in the period of complete building of Socialism, have not yet extracted from themselves the "birth marks" of capitalism. Marx, in his "Criticism of the Gothe Programme" and following him Lenin and following him Stalin, have said:

"When labour will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life, and will itself have become one of the first necessities of life; when with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces too will have grown to maturity and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring forth in an uninterrupted torrent, only then will it be possible wholly to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois laws and only then will Society be able to inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability—to each according to his needs.'"

—Marx "Criticism of Gothe Programme," quoted by Lenin, "State and Revolution," p. 98.

"In the first phase of Communist society . . . the principle, 'For an equal quantity of labour an equal quantity of products' continues to live in the capacity of regulator . . . dividing labour . . . amongst the members of society."

—Lenin "State and Revolution," p. 97.

In these circumstances, the systematic introduction of piece work according to the teachings of Marx and Lenin is not in the slightest degree a retreat from Socialism in the U.S.S.R. but on the contrary further extension of Socialist construction.

Especially important is another question: To what extent the systematic introduction of payment by results may affect—and is actually affecting—the general standard of life of the working class. Is it possible to approach the U.S.S.R. and capitalist Germany with the same measures? To answer this question it is necessary to remember that the economy of the U.S.S.R. is fundamentally different from that of capitalist countries.

In the U.S.S.R. labour power is not a commodity. In the U.S.S.R. there is not and cannot be competition between the workers, there can only be friendly rivalry. In the U.S.S.R. the workers do not produce surplus value. All labour of the workers here, according to Marx, is necessary labour, a part of which goes immediately to the account of the worker and another part of which goes into the social fund of wages and into socialist accumulation. The growth of socialist accumulation and industry passes immediately in the land of proletarian dictatorship to the un-deviating and constantly increasing improvement of the situation of the entire working class.

Therefore here in contrast to capitalist countries, the development of payment by results precisely because it encourages production, gentlemen from the "Vorwaerts," cannot lead as in capitalist countries to a strengthening of the exploitation of the working class, in the socialist factories in general there is no place for any exploitation of the workers. Here, on the contrary, payment by results to the extent that it stimulates socialist production and socialist accumulation, helps the Soviet Power to introduce a higher standard of life for the working class—which it does.

The German Social Democrats say when we, in the period of stabilisation, supported the change from the flat rate to piece rates, we did so in the name of "equality," but when the Bolsheviks introduce piece rates into the U.S.S.R. they do so only in the interests of production. Let us see what this "equality" of the social fascists (bourgeois) has led to in Germany and other capitalist countries, and what the Bolshevik passion for production has led to in the U.S.S.R.

MANIFESTO OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS.

We read in the "Address of the All-Union Central Council of T.U.s to all workers and women workers," of 17 Oct., 1931:

"The successes of socialist economy lead to an unflinching development of the working class, raise the well-being of the toiling mass of town and country. The normal monthly pay of a worker for seven months of 1931 has risen in comparison with the rates of 1930 11.8 per cent. For the fourth quarter of 1931 a special decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Peoples Economy and the Central Council of Trades Unions has considerably increased the wage rates for the main fields of leading industry: non-ferrous metals, 23.5 per cent.; coal mining, 12 per cent., making together with the previously introduced increase (January-March, 1931) a total of 35.5 per cent.; general mining, 29 per cent.; chemical, 20 per cent.

The decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has ensured also the raising of the wages and improvement of the material position of the engineering technical workers and apprentices.

From year to year the cultural-living conditions of the workers and employees constantly improve. The Social Insurance Budget in 1931 reached 2,175 million roubles, one million workers and employees visited rest homes in 1931; the fund for building workers' houses reached 1,156 millions in 1931 as against 682 million roubles in 1930.

The decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the reorganisation of co-operation and municipal economy, on the development of communal feeding, meat and canning industries, live stock Soviet farms and collective dairy farming indicated the practical way for the further improvement of the living conditions of the working class mass. Unemployment is completely liquidated.

New millions of workers are drawn into production. The number of women workers in 1931 alone increased by one million. In connection with this there is a considerable increase in the budget of the worker's family.

At the same time there are in the capitalist countries more than 40 million unemployed. More than five million unemployed in Germany, including one-third organised in Trade Unions. Nearly three million in England, 12 million in the U.S.A. Further amongst the labour aristocracy organised in the A.F. of L. more than 20 per cent. were unemployed in August, 1931. Wages were cut in Germany in July, 1931, 19 per cent. in comparison with 1930 and 29 per cent. in comparison with 1929.

At the same time that in the U.S.S.R. the proletarian army of labour grew 20 per cent. (to 17 millions) in one year (1931) and the wage fund increased 21.2 per cent., in the U.S.A. according to official figures, the number of workers engaged in industry fell in the past year 16.6 per cent. and the total wages 25.7 per cent. In the winter the number of unemployed will rise at least 40 per cent.

In the majority of countries there is no relief at all for unemployed. The relief of the unemployed has been cut in Germany and England to a minimum. According to a new law unemployed up to 21 do not receive any relief. The relief of seasonal workers and married women is also being abolished.

In these conditions the Reformist Unions of Germany spend 33.2 per cent. of their funds on the upkeep of officials and for strike and lock-out pay and educational work only 8.4 per cent.

In the biggest capitalist countries during the last years the number of workers organised in

the T.U.s under Reformist, Social fascist leadership has fallen. The membership of the German reformist T.U.s has fallen hundreds of thousands. The number of T.U. organised workers according to the figures of the General Council of English T.U.s has fallen in 1930 to three millions.

As against this the number organised in T.U.s in the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Communist Party continually increases.

In 1931 the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. expended more than 70 per cent. of their budget for social and other needs of their members, the number of which has reached on the 14th Anniversary of October 14 million."

MASS ENTHUSIASM.

For these reasons, because the introduction of payment by results in the U.S.S.R. will lead to the strengthening of socialist accumulation, similarly to heightening of the general standard of wages and standard of life, the Social Democratic and bourgeois press resorts to lies and slander, that the introduction of piece rates is the result of the bankruptcy of the practice of socialist rivalry in the U.S.S.R. and disappointment at the socialist competition, and that the piece-work system is planned to substitute and abolish the socialist competition. On the contrary, at the moment socialist industry absorbs new millions of workers, from the village still infected with strong individualistic tendencies.

Piece rates interest them in the raising of the productivity of labour and the development of socialist production. These recent arrivals from the village are drawn into the general swing of socialist competition and transform their individualist nature into a socialist one in this process.

All the new tasks which Stalin summarised in his speech—"struggle against lack of personal responsibility," "against equalisation," "introduction of payment by results and business-like methods" in the conditions of the present periods of socialist construction do not replace socialist competition, but on the contrary, raise a new colossal wave of mass productive enthusiasm, socialist competition and socialist shock-brigade work. At the present moment in the U.S.S.R. there are already in industry and transport 3½ million shock brigaders and 200,000 shock brigades.

The replacement of the equal rates by payment by results affords an opportunity to our class enemies, self-styled "friends of the people" to accuse the Bolsheviks of going back on their past and now appearing as the opponents of equality.

The Party in this connection strongly maintains the teaching of Marx and Lenin according

to which various classes have given and give their understanding of equality different contents.

The identification of equality with the equal distribution of the land or the equal distribution of all unearned income is a *petit-bourgeois* understanding of equality.

Such a petty bourgeois character was born by the demand for the "agrarian law" raised during the great French Revolution of the 18th century, similarly the demand of the Russian peasantry for the "black distribution"; also the programme of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries of "agrarian socialisation." These demands had revolutionary significance when they were directed against the landlords in the period of the bourgeois revolution. These demands have become reactionary in a society where already socialism is being built on the basis of powerful socialised production.

Identification of equality with juridical equality and destruction of hereditary class privileges is a *bourgeois* understanding of equality.

Marx declared that "conceptions of equality proceed from the equality of general human labour in the production of commodities." To establish the equality of general labour in the production of commodities it was necessary to destroy the feudal serf laws and the guild restrictions.

Therefore in the period of their struggle against feudalism the bourgeoisie fought under the slogan of "Equality."

From the viewpoint of this bourgeois equality the worker is equal with the capitalist who exploits him as both have "equal rights."

The *proletarian* conception of equality in contrast to both the preceding ones is identified in the *destruction of classes*. Lenin wrote: "Equality in the economic field—is the destruction of classes To destroy classes — that means placing all citizens in equal relationship to the means of production of the whole society.

That means—all citizens have identical access to work at the social means of production, to the social land and factories, etc."

This is precisely the proletarian equality which the Bolsheviks are realising to-day in the struggle against the bourgeois "equalisation," which is hampering social production. It is therefore by no means surprising that the kulaks now being liquidated as a class clearly appear as devoted supporters of "equalisation."

We finally see that all the new tasks summarised by Stalin, are not a step back to capitalism, as the social fascists slanderously allege, but a new powerful leap forward to the complete triumph of Socialism.

Let us now see how the Party fights to carry out these tasks.

4.—THE PARTY ENTERS THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REALISATION OF THE NEW TASKS.

We give here a chronological account of how these new battles have broken out, to the extent to which they have found expression in the decisions of the C.C. of the Party and the speeches of its leader Com. Stalin. On the 11th October, 1930, a decree was issued terminating the payment of unemployment benefit at the labour exchanges in view of the practical liquidation of unemployment. On the 20th October, 1930, the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. issued a decision on measures for the planned supply of labour power to people's economy and the struggle against labour fluidity. In this decision, by the way, the right was given to the All Union Commissariat of Labour as well as the separate Republics' ministries to introduce in agreement with the Trade Unions the removal and transfer of qualified workers and specialists from the less important branches of people's economy to the more responsible ones.

In this decision on the one hand, measures were laid down for the encouragement of the best productive workers and those who voluntarily remain at their posts in the factories, and on the other, it declared that "deserters and 'floaters' are to lose the right of work in industrial undertakings for a period of six months."

Noting the mass response of the leading groups of shock-brigade workers to remain at their posts for the period to the conclusion of the Five-Year Plan, the C.C. instructed the C.C. of the All Union Council of T.U.s to undertake a broad explanatory campaign among the workers on the importance of this initiative and "do everything possible to ensure that this proceeds on the basis of voluntary effort and not in any case by means of the collective agreement and not to permit administrative pressure" (see article "The Directives of the C.P.S.U. on economic questions," Savelov and Poskrebishev, p. 783). The decree of the Soviet Power worked out on the basis of this decision of the C.C. gave, as is known, our class enemies an opportunity to commence a wild campaign against "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R.

We do not intend to expose these slanders here as that has already been done in the columns of our journal in the number of 8 February, 1931, in the leading article "Dying Capitalism and the Emancipation of Labour."

At the end of October, 1930, Com. Molotov went to the Don Basin for an investigation and to overcome the shortage of labour especially for underground work, he put the question of the mechanisation of the Don Basin in all its sharpness, the creation of a "new Don Basin." In

January, 1931, the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. issued a decision on railway transport, where for the first time the struggle was commenced against lack of personal responsibility, where together with proposals for increases in the wages it was demanded that the policy of equalising wages be forthwith stopped. On the 4th February, 1931, Stalin delivered a speech to the first All Union Conference of Workers in Socialist Industry where he sharply put the question that the Bolsheviks must master the technique of industry and its financial economic side.

Stalin showed that a bad non-bolshevik habit had grown up in the country: "it was often thought that to lead meant signing documents."

The fact that the Bolsheviks were signing papers laid before them by specialists, not learning themselves and trying to master technique, had made easier the work of the wreckers to no small degree, said Stalin.

In March, 1931, the C.C. issued a decision on the rapid supply of housing to the workers in the mining industry.

In the same month the C.C. issued its decision on the complete abolition of the mobilisation of workers for current campaigns.

At the July Plenum of the C.C. in 1931 the question of the harvest campaign was discussed in close connection with the principal question of the new organisation of labour in the conditions of the stormy development of agriculture. In this connection the C.C. worked out a plan of the harvest campaign, showing that each Soviet and collective farm must prepare a corresponding plan, further the C.C. emphasised the necessity of a timely distribution of the income among the collectivists *according to the work performed—not per head*. The July Plenum gave special attention to the payment by results system.

The second question before the Plenum was that of transport and the relative backwardness of transport, the main reason for which is the rapid economic development of the country. The Plenum endorsed the measures already taken for the liquidation of journeys without personal responsibility and their substitution by the attachment of a brigade to each locomotive. The July Plenum noted that these measures together with the sending into the transport industry of qualified cadres and the raising of the wages of all decisive sections of workers in railway economy had already made a certain improvement in the matter of reconstructing the railway transport system. Finally on June 23rd, 1931, Stalin delivered his remarkable address to the Conference of the leaders of industry on the new situation and the new tasks, in which he summarised, extended and

gave grounds for those tasks which the Party had partially already commenced to realise in the autumn of 1930.

The theses of Stalin found a hearty response among the active workers who were able to lead the entire working-class mass and overcome the secret opposition to the carrying out of the new tasks from the side of the opportunist elements in the Soviet apparatus, corresponding to the tendencies of the more backward strata of the workers. In the village the main mass of the collective farmers understood and accepted the directives of the Party on the necessity of the distribution of the income exclusively on the principle of the quantity and quality of the work and not at so much per head.

In the villages in the collective farms the "equality" where it had existed had led to a situation where the work of a collective farmer was reckoned not by the best, but the worst, as a consequence of which the productivity of labour sunk to the lowest level. Precisely because of this the kulaks after they had been beaten and when it became a question of "enter the collective farm or not," adopted the first position and entered the collective farms with the object of disorganising them from within, fighting with every possible means for "equal distribution" and against the piece system, understanding quite well that this is the surest method by which to smash the detested collective farms. For example, in the artel of "May 1st" (Lower Volga) the kulak's adherents declared: "'Norms' are not necessary, everybody cannot do them, let everyone work as he wants. I did not join the collectivist farm to have to produce a norm." In the artel "Lenin's advice," under the influence of reactionary elements all the "norms" of work were reduced. One kulak supporter said, "In 1925 I tended for the kulak only 12 head of cattle and in the collective farm where there is no exploitation the 'norm' must be lower, etc." Under the influence of these "left" tendencies in the artel "October" an instruction was actually worked out insuring members against "inequality" in the event of any member producing above the "norm." "If the norm is produced in a day and the work according to qualification is higher than this, the number of working days of the collective farmer's family is reduced accordingly." (B. Pevzina: "The piece system as the main link in collective farm construction 'On the Agrarian Front'.") Against these small bourgeois "leftist" "equalitarian" tendencies which play into the hands of the kulaks and all enemies of socialist construction the Party conducts, and as we see, conducts successfully, the struggle.

5.—THE SUCCESSES OF THE PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR REALISING THE NEW TASKS.

The struggle for the new tasks has only just begun, it is too early to sum up. We may already enumerate a number of important successes in this struggle. The June Plenum of the C.C., 1931, as we have already said, has shown that the new measures in transport, personal responsibility and piece-systems, etc., have already commenced its recuperation. As an illustration one may take figures on the position of the Moscow White Russian Railway for March, April, May and June, 1931, for goods drivers with a normal run of 1,830 km. for the second quarter; in March, at the start of the personal responsibility, a run stood at only 1,565 km. in 180.5 hours; in April 1,759 km. in 180.6 hours; May 2,062 km. in 174.3 hours; in June 2,260 km. in 150 hours. Simultaneously the wage rates increased. For a 1st class driver in March, 210.02 roubles; April, 234.70; May, 269.16; June, 302.95 roubles. Similar figures show a similar increase for passenger drivers. Thanks to the introduction of personal responsibility in all runs the number of locomotives, not supplied to order, from the depots decreased from month to month. For the entire U.S.S.R. in February, 1931, at the time of the "de-personalisation," 10,197 locomotives were short, in March (commencement of personal responsibility in runs) 6,929 locomotives short, April 4,025, August 2,605. All this was still insufficient. Many locomotives were still refused, nevertheless we observe an undeviating improvement. Only during the last month in connection with the period of holidays and the incompetence of the railway chiefs to protect under these conditions the principle of personally responsible runs the position again worsened with the result that transport was threatened with inability to cope with the autumn demand. This impelled the C.C. to undertake decisive steps and replace the entire direction and we may rest assured that the new management headed by Com. Andreyev will again drive things forward.

A still greater test in the field of mastering technique was the starting up of the gigantic Stalingrad tractor works, built according to the last word of American technique. At the time of the 16th Party Congress when the Stalingrad factory was announced to be ready—one tractor per day left the conveyor. And for a long time the work did not improve. The enemies of the Soviet Power in the persons of various Abramovitches celebrated and chortled: "Nothing wonderful, certainly, in bringing machines from America. That can also be done in the country of savages, but the Bolsheviks will never succeed

to start that factory going." And what? A year or so has passed, with about the same time necessary to Ford to lay down his plant for his factory at Cologne and we already read in the "Pravda" of October 3rd, 1931:

"The Stalingrad tractor factory has finished in September the most important stage in the struggle for the organisation of mass production. The factory has reached the output of 100 machines per day. It will now deliver 100 tractors daily commencing with September 24th. The September programme has been exceeded (2,151 machines) This victory has been achieved as a result of the stubborn struggle of the group for the realisation of the lead of Com. Stalin . . . the leading department of the factory, the forge, has completely fulfilled the month's plan, producing 2,400 tons of forgings. Carefully-planned work, the transfer to a progressive piece-rate system in the heavy forging department and a powerful advance of shock-brigade work—ensured the smiths the victory.

In September the work of the moulders greatly improved . . . The preparatory shops of the factory have in the main concluded the period of organisation of production . . . Nevertheless, the victory of the Dzerzhinsky shock brigade is not merely the decisive factor in these departments alone. The tractor details are produced in the machine shops at 1,150 machines, and the machine and assembling department collective group has practically finished its equipment work."

The situation in the Don Basin was very difficult. After the Commission of Com. Molotov for the mechanisation of the Don Basin, the utilisation of the coal-cutter received very wide attention. Proposals were made also by Comrades Kartashev, Kassourov and others for very valuable new methods of rationalisation. Despite this the output was only raised slightly. Finally, the dogged struggle for the introduction of all the new measures formulated in the speeches of Stalin gave the required result. In 1928-29 throughout the whole Union the production was 39.9 million tons of coal, in 1929-30, 47 million tons, but the first half of 1931 already produced 26 million tons. Thus there was more, not less, than in the corresponding period of the previous years. A rise was only noticeable during the last months. In August, 1931, in the entire coal industry of the S.U. 45.2 per cent. more was produced than in the preceding year. Among the miners at the moment rules a tremendous sense of victory. In "Pravda" of October 12th appeared a telegram from Kharkov as follows: "The output of coal in the Don Basin continues to rise. On October the 10th, 125,250 tons were produced. This figure exceeds the previous maxi-

mum output for 24 hours in the entire history of the Don Basin. One fact is especially important: for the first time the output of the machine section exceeds the plan by 100.8 per cent. This is a great victory. The output of coal rises from week to week (five days—Translator)."

Similar evidence of rapid development of the metal industry's production, in connection with the introduction of the new system of wages, may be found in the "Pravda" of the 11th October, 1931.

According to the latest figures of the Supreme Council of People's Economy, for nine months of 1931 the auto-tractor industry has increased its production in comparison with the corresponding period of the preceding year $2\frac{1}{2}$ times. Electro-technical industry for nine months, 48.5 per cent. increase; locomotive engines, 36.3 per cent.; machine tools, 26 per cent.; heavy machine tools grew 26.7 per cent.; rubber 29 per cent.; and in September, 1931, in comparison with September, 1930, 48.5 per cent. In general, according to the latest figures of the Supreme Economic Council, the production of the whole of industry in 1931 rose in the first quarter, in comparison with the first quarter of 1930, 5.3 per cent.; in the second, 15.4 per cent.; and the third, 28.2 per cent. These figures show especially clearly that a big jump forward commenced with the second quarter, i.e., with the commencement of the carrying out of the new measures.

Similar successes may be noted in agriculture. On September 1st, according to the figures of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, 71.5 per cent. of all collective farms had gone over to the piece-work system. Work-books had already been put into the hands of collective farmers in 31.5 per cent. of collective farms.

Already the great historical fact that we have in the U.S.S.R. to-day about 60 per cent. of the poor and middle peasant farms encompassed by the collective farms movement has given the possibility to greatly extend the sown area. In 1929-30 the sown area of the U.S.S.R. increased from 70,000,000 hectares to 127 million. In 1931 it increased another 11 millions to 138, whereas before the war during ten years the area sown increased 15 millions. In this connection the Soviet farms and collective farms have reached in one year what it took Czarist Russia seven years to accomplish.

In the last year the plan for 140 immense machine tractor stations has been practically fulfilled. Thanks to this and the introduction of payment by results the harvest campaign is considerably more successful than last year's. On September 25th already 91.8 per cent. of the harvest was gathered and the autumn sowing 64.8

per cent. fulfilled, and 25.4 per cent. of the ploughing plan carried out.

On the 5th October there was already mown and reaped the autumn and also early and late spring corns to 95 per cent. of the plan. (See "Socialist Agriculture," 2nd, 6th, and 11th October, 1931.)

We see that the Party is winning, thanks to the energetic mobilisation of the mass around the new tasks, production takes a powerful spring upwards, reaching speeds previously unknown in history, although the immense tasks planned in the first three quarters are not yet achieved, in the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan.

The social fascists are still ready to recognise with various excuses that the industry of the U.S.S.R. rapidly develops. They are even ready to recognise that wages increase, but they say the workers in the S.U. cannot buy anything, and the result of all this "industrial boom" is that they are hungry.

This is an habitual fantasy and slander. Certainly the Bolsheviks by no means conceal this fact, but quite openly at all their conferences and congresses say that in connection with a number of commodities and products the supply is not yet satisfactory. The social fascists lie when they declare that this is the outcome of the Soviet system or the economic policy of the Soviet Power—and the completely impossible speed of industrial growth. They lie when they declare that the C.P.S.U. treats the question of consumers' supplies lightly and does not fight energetically for the improvement of the position. They lie when they declare that the commodity supply does not advance and improve. They lie and slander when they declare that the Soviet Power is incapable of solving this problem, and that it will not solve it in the near future.

We briefly enumerate what the Party and the Soviet Power have done in this field in the last period:—

It is well known that the corn problem was already solved in 1930, and not at the price of a lowering of the rate of development of heavy industry and the weakening of the socialist attack, but on the contrary by a wide development of agricultural machine construction and wide growth of collectivisation.

As a result of the general goods hunger, the workers experienced an insufficiency of manufactured goods. How did the Soviet Power deal with this? Already at the 16th Party Congress Stalin, in his report, emphasised that thanks to the successes in the development of heavy industry we now have the possibility to apply the same measures to light industry, which we must do, without weakening the speed of the growth of

heavy industry. For the extension of the textile industry the sowing of technical cultures was raised on an immense scale.

In 1929 there were planted 1,032 thousand hectares of cotton; in 1930, 1,564 thousand; in 1931, 2,300 thousand. That means that in two years the sown area of cotton increased just a little below 2½ times.

Similarly with flax. In 1929, 1,631 thousand hectares; 1930, 1,822 thousand hectares; 1931, 2,400 thousand.

To improve the food supply of the toilers, the production of sugar has been increased to a colossal extent. In 1929, 770 thousand hectares were planted with sugar beet; in 1930, 1 million; 1931, 1,500 thousand hectares.

To improve the food supply of the workers the area sown with vegetables has been increased at extraordinary speed. It has increased in one year in comparison with the previous year 76.7 per cent.

A more difficult question in the satisfaction of the population consists in the shortage of meat and fats in relation to the growth of demand for these products among both the workers and peasants. The statement that the Soviet Power is responsible for this shortage or the Soviet system and its policy of high-speed industrialism, is a lying slanderous one. The first reason for the shortage of meat and fats is the stormy development of the towns and correspondingly the growth of demand for them. The second reason is the extreme backwardness of cattle-raising inherited from the old days. The third and very important reason that the kulaks, dearly beloved by the social fascists, at the commencement of the stormy growth of collectivisation, in the second half of 1929 and first half of 1930, frantically agitated for the destruction of cattle, an agitation which had a well-known degree of success, to the extent that those peasants entering the collective farms did not shed all their individualistic leanings and habits overnight. How did the Soviet Power deal with this? Did it retreat before the kulak, or perhaps it adopted a fatalistic attitude to this reduction of the number of cattle? Neither one nor the other! In spite of all, it won out to a decisive victory, liquidating the kulak as a class in the struggle for collectivisation. At the same time from the first moment of the start of the kulaks' insidious manoeuvre it commenced an energetic struggle for the creation of a powerful socialist cattle-raising industry, and has already achieved considerable successes in this field.

Already on 20th December, 1929, the C.C. of the Party formulated a series of measures for the solution of the meat problem, declaring in its

statement that "after the corn problem, in the solution of which the Party has scored its first serious successes, the problem of meat supply is the most important task of the economic policy of the Party and the Soviet Power, without the solution of which there cannot be overcome the difficulties of meeting the demands of the working class."

The concrete instructions worked out in this statement of the C.C. proceeded from the task of organising such extensive collective cattle ranges, which will ensure by the end of the Five-Year Plan an output of meat from the Soviet farms and the mass extension of cattle-breeding (heavy horned cattle and pigs) in the collective farms to ensure an output of no fewer than 1,630,000 tons of meat.

On July, 25th, 1930, the C.C. issued a decision on the development of Soviet cattle ranges (Sovkhoz), in which, by the way, the Trust "Svinovod" (Pig Trust) is requested to undertake the extension in the year 1930, according to which, in addition to the already established 240 Soviet farms, there will be (a) pig farms (Sovkhozi) in suburbs of large industrial centres utilising the waste of towns; (b) pig farms in factory districts utilising technical waste products.

In the same decision it was proposed to the Trust "Skotovod (Cattle Trust) to take immediate steps and institute the main measures to ensure the extension of cattle breeding to another 150 Soviet farms in addition to the 102 developed in 1930, with an area of 15 million hectares, and also to ten Soviet farms in the areas of intensive cultivation, with the general aim of 3,200 thousand head of heavy horned cattle.

In September, 1930 the C.C. issued its decision on mass workers' control of co-operation. At the December Plenum of the C.C. in 1930 the special questions of supplies and consumers' co-operatives were placed on the agenda. At this plenum it was noted that the decisions of the C.C. on the extension of cattle breeding had not remained on paper; that the number of head of cattle in the Soviet farms, "Skotovod," "Svinovod," and "Ovsevod" had already exceeded the number planned for 1930. In 1931 the C.C. of the Party undertook a series of steps for the rapid development of the meat and canning industries.

On the 30th September was issued—over the signatures of Stalin and Molotov—a corresponding address to different organisations. This address drew attention to the successes already achieved during the previous year in the development of the undertakings of the food industry, manufacturing from meat, fish and vegetables, the building of ten new meat combines of medium

type, with a general output capacity of 75 thousand tons of produce in one shift; building of 17 baking factories, 41 new canning works, etc. In the same address a series of steps for an extensive programme of work for the realisation of the construction plan during 1931-32-33, new meat combines with a general annual output capacity of 1.5 million tons of meat products per shift, were outlined.

With the same energy the C.C. has already commenced in February, 1931, the construction of dairy farms and has already scored a signal success in this field. In "Socialist Agriculture" of October 3rd we read:

"The first decision of the Government on the Milk Trust was issued on February 13th, 1931. That decision gave the task to the Milk Trust farms to raise the number of milch cows to 1,275,000 and supply 20 thousand tons of butter by the end of 1931. The decisions after this (the address of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of People's Commissaries of the U.S.S.R. of July 30th, 1931) increased this task to 1,500,000 cows and 23 thousand tons of butter. According to data to hand the task of February 13th has already been achieved to 94 per cent. *and the increased task of July 30th to 80 per cent.* At the same time the plan for milk products has been realised to 86 per cent. for the 13th February plan and 75 per cent. for the July 30th one."

Judging by the success scored by the Party in this field, we may conclude that in 1932 the meat and milk problems will be in the main solved, as in 1930 the grain problem was solved, and then the social fascists will have to produce (from where is not yet known) some kind of new argument for the support of their trickery.

In conclusion, two words on the question of why the Russian Bolsheviks hurtle forwards at such a record-breaking speed that weak-nerved people get giddy at the sight of it.

Here we attach the words of Stalin, who is now "retreating," according to the statement of the social fascists. On the 4th February, 1931, in the speech to which we referred above on the necessity of the mastering of technique, Com. Stalin, among other things, said:—

"To slow down means to fall behind. And the backward are beaten . . . the story of old Russia incidentally is a story of endless drubbings dealt to the backward . . . You will recall the words of our pre-revolutionary poet, 'You are both, O Mother Russia, poor and rich, and strong and weak.' All these gentlemen seem to have learnt by heart the words of our old poet. They would thrash her and mutter: You are rich, so why not fatten ourselves at your expense? They would thrash her and reiterate: 'You are poor, weak, so one can beat you and rob you with impunity.' Such is the law of the exploiters—jump on the weak, on the backward—the law of the wolf . . . Surely you do not want to see your socialist fatherland beaten, robbed of its independence . . . This is what Lenin meant when, during the October days, he said, 'Either death, or we must catch up and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries . . .'

"There are, however, other still more serious and still more important obligations. *I mean our obligations to the world proletariat. While these are of the same nature as the first we regard them as higher . . .* Our forward pace must be such that upon beholding us the working class of the entire world might exclaim: Here it is, our vanguard. Here it is, our shock brigade; here it is our workers' government; here it is, our fatherland. It does the work, our work—well, then, let us support it against the capitalists and fan the flames of world revolution."

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"National" Government, with MacDonald at its head, is energetically carrying out the programme elaborated by the Labour Government for the further offensive against the standard of living of the working class and the toilers of England.

The working class in all other capitalist countries are in the same situation as regards wage-reductions.

In the U.S.A. for the first seven months of 1931 the general wage-fund, as compared with the same period of the previous year, was reduced by 27.5 per cent. Among the various branches of industry the reduction varies from 10 per cent. to 40 per cent. The reduction has especially affected the workers of the coal-mining, steel-

foundries, automobile and electrical power industries. Even according to the statistics of the yellow American Federation of Labour wages have been reduced in the steel-foundry trade by 14 per cent., in machine and tool making by 17 per cent., in transport by 18 per cent., and in light metals by 15 per cent. Consequently, despite Hoover's predictions and projects and those of his lackeys of the Second International, the standard of living of the American workers has continued to drop catastrophically even in comparison with the abrupt reduction of wages carried out in 1930.

Even according to the figures published in the "Monthly Labour Review," the number of

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WHERE GIANTS ARE BUILT

By E. BRAND.

THE first thing that strikes everyone who crosses the frontier to the U.S.S.R. is the fact that the whole of the land is covered with forests of construction works. There is not a corner in the whole of this vast land where new workshops, electrical power stations, public buildings, whole blocks and streets of new houses have not been built; there is not a village where you cannot find houses whose walls shine out fresh and new, collective farm buildings, communal cattle-sheds, pigsties, outhouses.

Giant workshops are being built. In places where yesterday there were steppes or forests, whole new towns are growing up with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants.

The capitalists who not so long ago called the Five-Year Plan a piece of bluff now watch our new construction work with envy and fear. The foreign worker finds his faith strengthened in the final victory of the working-class at the mere sight of this fine creative work, of which the only land of emancipated labour alone is capable of carrying out. He becomes filled with enthusiasm, the same enthusiasm that fires the working-class of the U.S.S.R. He burns with hatred towards his boss, to all the owners of mines and workshops, who doom these mines and factories to idleness and tens of millions of workers to hunger and despair.

It is difficult to over-estimate the agitational and revolutionising significance of the gigantic construction work of the U.S.S.R. in conditions of world economic crisis; its great significance in raising the fighting spirit of the proletariat of the whole world, in consolidating their feeling of solidarity towards the workers of the U.S.S.R.

Recently a group of German workers—tourists, twenty-five persons in all, among whom were Social Democrats, arrived in the U.S.S.R. to spend their holidays travelling through the land. But having arrived in Moscow and seen the workshops, having been present at some of the workers' meetings, they decided instead of touring the U.S.S.R. to spend their holidays in working on the building of one of the workshops. And in the course of two weeks this group of workers laid the cement foundations of the new crane in the Moscow metallurgical works, "Hammer and Sickle." Is it possible to imagine that these workers, on returning to Germany, will not stand in the forefront of the defenders of the U.S.S.R.; is it possible to imagine that those workers will fail to fight with doubled energy to become the owners of the German metallurgical works?

We want in this article to give a picture of just one section of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., that is, a picture of its INDUSTRIAL construction.

II.

What is the volume of the industrial construction of the U.S.S.R.? what is its relative position as compared with the size of the industrial apparatus of the capitalist world?

Let us give some figures on this point. The total constant capital which forms the basis of the Five Year Plan of the industrial enterprises of the U.S.S.R., (without the food industry) amounts to 7,822 million roubles. The year 1931 provides for an investment of 6.2 billion roubles in industry and will put into exploitation objects to the value of 4.5 billion roubles. During the first nine months of 1931 the construction of objects worth 1.8 billion roubles is actually finished, and they have been put into exploitation. *During the first three years of the Five Year Plan*, workshops, mines and new aggregates in old factories have been built and set in operation, which together considerably exceed half the might of the total constant capital of industry which was in operation at the beginning of the Five Year Plan. But the might of these objects, *under construction* at the present moment, and which will on the whole be put into operation during 1932 is *more than the total value of the whole of industry* operating at the beginning of the Five Year Plan.

These figures show that the *rate* of development of Soviet industry is unequalled throughout the world, that the U.S.S.R. is not broadening its industrial basis, but building it anew.

But Comrade Stalin taught us not to mix up the rate of development with the level already achieved. The construction work in the U.S.S.R. is enormous as compared with the low level we started at, as compared with the poor heritage left to the working-class by Russian capitalism, and which even by the beginning of the Five Year Plan had been increased only very little. What is the size of this construction work as compared with construction in capitalist countries?

Let us leave aside calculations in roubles, which are little fitted for international comparisons and take the natural indices, the might of our mines in tons, of our electrical power stations in kilowatts, etc. But what shall we take for comparison? If we compare the construction work in the U.S.S.R. in 1931 with that of capitalism in the same year, we shall be comparing incomparable things.

In the U.S.S.R. we are building workshops, in Europe and America they are closing them down. The U.S.S.R. is launching new ships; in Hamburg, London, New York, ships are being converted into scrap-iron. In the U.S.S.R. we are laying down thousands of kilometres of new railways—in America

whole sections are being closed down. How can we compare our construction work with these ruins?

For this reason we shall take for comparison the figures of industrial construction for past years, during the period of relative stabilisation of capital.

As illustration let us dwell for a moment on the electrical construction and metallurgical works, as the leading branches of national economy.

During 1928 *Germany* put into operation 600 thousand kilowatts of new electrical power in the public service power stations, and in 1929 1,100 thousand kilowatts. In 1930 construction work in this connection not only ceased, but the consumption of energy fell by 4 per cent.

The plan of electrical construction in the U.S.S.R. during 1931 provides for the exploitation of over one million kilowatts in new district power stations and about 500 thousand kilowatts in new workshop plants. During the first eight months of the current year 375 thousand kilowatts have already been put into exploitation in district power stations (as against 400 thousand kilowatts for the whole of 1930) and during the fourth quarter about 600 thousand kilowatts more will be put into operation (during the first seven days of October the first turbine (24 thousand kilowatts) has been put into operation at the electrical power station in Kamensk on the Dnieper; the first two turbines, each 11 thousand kilowatts, at the district power station in Briansk, and 88 thousand kilowatts of new power at the Shterovsk power station in the Donetz Basin).

Moreover, each new kilowatt of power in the U.S.S.R. is not the equivalent of a kilowatt in Germany and America. The average number of hours exploitation of one kilowatt in the U.S.A. is 3,000 to 3,200 hours annually, in Germany only 2,200, in England 1,800 to 1,900, and in the U.S.S.R. 3,500 hours (in the district stations even 4,000).

This is a clear example of the superiority of planned Socialist economy. One million new kilowatts in the U.S.S.R. are equal in value to an instalment of 1,600 thousand kilowatts in Germany. Electrical construction in the U.S.S.R. has not only relatively, but also absolutely exceeded the scale of construction in Germany, and the same holds good with regard to all capitalist countries with the exception of the U.S.A. alone.

As for metallurgy, the U.S.S.R. has caught up to all the capitalist countries in volume of new construction. At present in the U.S.S.R. 22 martin furnaces, with a total capacity of 5 million tons of iron yearly, are under construction, and during the fourth quarter of the current year the foundations will be laid for a further six furnaces. There is no country in the world which has increased the might of its metallurgical industry at such a rate. In Germany since 1926 the construction of new martin furnaces has almost completely ceased.

As a result of this intensive construction work in the metallurgical field, the U.S.S.R. is ever climbing up among the producers of iron and steel. In 1927 the U.S.S.R. occupied the seventh place in the world for the production of iron and the sixth place for the output of steel. In 1928 it had overtaken Luxembourg with regard to iron and Belgium as regards steel, occupying a corresponding position of the sixth nation for both iron and steel. In 1929 the U.S.S.R. already occupied the fifth place for iron, having left Belgium behind (4,312 thousand tons against 4,096 thousand). In 1931 *the U.S.S.R. occupies the fourth position in the world, having left England behind as regards iron and steel.* During the last eight months, 3,155 thousand tons of iron were produced throughout the U.S.S.R. as against 2,642 in England; and 3,492 thousand tons of steel as against 3,442 thousand tons in England.

In 1932 the U.S.S.R. must overtake France, and in 1933 take the second place in the world output, giving way to the U.S.A. alone.

An indication of the widespread industrial construction in the U.S.S.R. is the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the largest importer in the world of industrial machinery and lathes. At the same time our own Soviet machine construction industry is growing and strengthening, and an ever-growing percentage of the newly-equipped works are using Soviet machinery. Before the war there were no steam turbines produced in the land now occupied by the U.S.S.R. The first Soviet turbine of 10 thousand kilowatts was constructed in 1926. And in 1931 the Stalin works in Leningrad will construct 830 thousand kilowatt turbines, including a series of 19 turbines, each 24 thousand kilowatts; and the same works has already issued its first turbines, each 60 thousand kilowatts.

The U.S.S.R. up to now has produced no large metallurgical equipment. But in 1931 the Izhorsk works near Leningrad turned out two mighty Blumings, each of which will work up anything to a million tons of steel ingots annually. The "Electrosila" works in Leningrad have constructed a powerful electrical installation, Ilgner, where the Blumings will be set into operation, installations of which kind are only built by three or four world electro-technical firms.

We find the same thing in the chemical, the coal, the machine construction, the timber industry, and everywhere. Throughout the U.S.S.R. our construction work is being carried on almost to the same extent as abroad, and in several branches of industry we have exceeded the world scale of construction.

III.

A characteristic feature of industrial construction in the U.S.S.R., which everybody cannot fail to notice,

is the extreme concentration of industry, the gigantic size of individual undertakings.

The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., in building its new Socialist industry, can build its undertakings according to the last word in technical improvements, which will secure the mass output of manufactured goods with the maximum curtailment of labour expenditure. In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, unlike Balkanised Europe, there are not the customs barriers, which divide Europe into a number of limited, national markets, which often do not allow of the creation of mass, mechanised, technically advanced industry.

In the U.S.S.R. there is no capitalist competition which leads to the construction in one and the same place of several competing undertakings, each like the other, instead of one mighty, more advanced, enterprise. In the U.S.S.R. there is no private ownership of land, which in capitalist countries is an obstacle to the proper construction of mines and so on, and limits their size to that of the land holding belonging to the given company. In the U.S.S.R. planned economy allows for specialisation in workshops that exist and those that are under construction, and makes it possible to take into consideration in advance the district where the articles will be sold, the kind of articles to be produced and the extent of production. Finally, in the U.S.S.R. with its sturdy, unprecedented, growth of productive forces, the giants of industry that have been built are guaranteed a market for their goods, and they are not menaced with the danger of over-production, thanks to the Soviet policy which leads to an unfluctuating increase in the consumption of the masses.

Here are a few examples which will serve best to illustrate the characteristic features of Soviet industry.

Coal. In Western Siberia in the upper basin of the River Tom, a tributary of the Ob, 2,000 kilometres east of the Urals Range, lies one of the largest coal deposits in the world, the Kuznetsk basin, with its store of 400 billion tons. Whereas in Western Europe and the Donetz basin, seams of coal are worked upon with a thickness of 1 and even $\frac{1}{2}$ a metre, in the Kuznetsk basin there are seams of coal running to a thickness of from 8 to 16 metres. In certain parts it even runs to 60 metres. Kuznetsk coal was worked up before the war to an insignificant extent: in 1913 only 800 thousand tons of coal were produced. Under the Soviet Government a series of important coal mines have been put into operation, which in 1929-30 gave 5.5 million tons of coal. At present, besides the 22 mines now working, 24 new ones are in the process of construction. During October, 1931, one of the largest in the U.S.S.R.—Mine No. 5-6 will begin working, it being capable of turning out $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of coal annually. At the end of next year the second largest mine in the

world, "Coke No. 1" will begin working, which will give an output of 3,250 thousand tons of coal annually. It will send to the top one carload of coal per minute.

Plans are already being drawn up in connection with mines which will produce 10 million tons of coal annually. The new town of Prokopyevsk, where these coal deposits lie, consists at present of mere barracks and wooden chalets, yet there are already 80 thousand inhabitants, and in a few years' time there will be a real Socialist town there. Several towns of this sort are being constructed in the Kuznetsk basin, which in 1933 should give 27 million tons of coal and become the second centre of the coal industry of the U.S.S.R.

The third coal basin of the U.S.S.R.—Karagandinsk—in North Kazakstane has a much more rapid rate of development before it; this source of wealth was discovered only during the last two years. The Karagandinsk pits should give an output of 2 million tons of coal during the first year of their existence. Already, as an emergency job, the railway line of several hundreds of kilometres has been laid down, which will join up Karagandu, via Akmolinsk, with the big Siberian trunk line.

Metallurgy. In the U.S.S.R. six giant workshops are being equipped at the present moment, each of which will produce 1 to 3 million tons of iron; as well as several other workshops capable of producing 400 thousand tons. Moreover, several works at present in exploitation are being reconstructed and extended, so that each of them will smelt from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of iron annually.

The finest representative of this column of giants is the Magnitogorsk works, the two first blast-furnaces of which will begin working by the fourteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

This works is under construction in the South Urals, on the side of the Magnit mountain, in the bowels of which about 300 million tons of 60 per cent. iron ore are to be found. The ore will be obtained above ground with completely mechanised equipment, and transported by electric locomotives. The mine will supply ore not only to the Magnitogorsk, but also to the Kuznetsk metallurgical works. Goods trains carrying ore will run 2 thousand kilometres to the East, to Kuznetsk basin, and from there will bring coal for the coke furnaces in the Magnitogorsk basin. The capacity of the mine is 6 million tons of ore annually—equal to the pre-war annual output of the whole Křivorozhsk basin.

Eight gigantic blast furnaces are under construction at the works, with a daily productivity of 1,000 tons each, and a total annual output of 2.5-3 million tons of iron. There will be 34 Martin furnaces, 150 tons each, and three Blumings. The works will limit its output to rails, girders, and assorted iron. The works will give an output of 650 thousand tons of rails alone annually. In the works coke furnaces,

installation for the production of ammonia from hydrogen extracted from coke fumes, and also a chemical works, are under consideration. An electrical power station with a capacity of 250 thousand kilowatts is being installed, and a town is going up for 100 thousand inhabitants.

Two years ago this place was bare steppes with a scattering of Cossack villages. Now 44 thousand workers are employed day and night, and from all corners of the land caravans of timber, cement, iron, metals, and machinery stream to this point.

In a couple of months caravans will leave the works with rails, to lay down the new line to Siberia, Kazakstan, Middle Asia, with their inexhaustible natural resources.

The New-Tagil works in North Ural will be not far behind Magnitogorsk in size; its total production (1½ million tons of rolled ironware annually) will be used in the region within a radius of 50 kilometres from the works, by a huge truck combine (50 thousand four-axle trucks annually), a works where bridges and ironwork for building purposes are made, and a mining and metallurgical equipment works. All these works are being equipped simultaneously.

A year ago in the Kazakstan desert on the banks of the Balkhash lake, the richest deposits of copper were discovered (Kounrad). To-day these deposits are estimated at 1,700 thousand tons of metal. Copper is required by the Soviet Union no less than iron, since without copper there can be no electrification. In order to get to the copper of Kounrad, we must build a railway 500 kilometres long, and this road is being built across the desert. In 1932 the rails will reach the shores of the Balkhash lake and the construction of a copper works with an output of 150 thousand tons of copper will get well under way. The nomad Cossacks, who have kept their ways of living and customs since the time of Chingis-khan, are for the first time being drawn into the work of construction and industrial labour. Their children attend the workshop schools and technical institutes, training to be the future commanders of their own national industry.

In Middle Asia, not far from Tashkent, a large lead and zinc combine is under construction which will produce 150 thousand tons of lead and 125 thousand tons of zinc annually. This output represents almost 10 per cent. of the total world production of lead and zinc. Throughout the old agrarian colonies of Tsarist Russia, industry is growing up, electrical power stations are under construction, the industrial proletariat is growing.

Electrical Construction. In six months' time the largest hydro-electrical station in Europe will send out its current; it stands on the falls of the Dniepr, where once was to be found the Council of the Zaporozhsk Cossacks. A gigantic dam, 38 metres high, held back the current of the Dnieper; now its

sections are being cemented. Four 92 thousand horse-power turbine-generators are mounted in the hydro-electrical station. Altogether nine such units will be installed. The construction work has been going on for four years, and has swallowed up over 200 million roubles. Eight hundred thousand horse-power will enter the service of Socialist construction.

The Dnieper station is more powerful than all other electrical power stations in the U.S.S.R. But already several thermal stations are about to question her superiority, if not in power, then in the amount of energy worked up. The Zuevsk station is being installed which will work on coal dust with five turbines, each with a capacity of 50 thousand kilowatts; the Magnitogorsk power station will have the same capacity. In Cheliabinsk, in the Urals, a power station has been built this year, which will work on lignite, and which will be extended to 150 thousand kilowatts next year. The foundations of the second series have already been laid, which is to be extended to 1 million kilowatts. A station of about the same size is planned for the Kuznetsk basin, in Kemerova, as the centre of the chemical-metallurgical combine. Moscow is surrounded by a ring of electrical power stations running on peat and lignite; they have a capacity of from 130 to 150 thousand kilowatts, and supply current to the capital. Around Leningrad a similar ring is growing up, composed of the Volkhov hydro-electrical station, a similar station under construction on the river Svir, and two other powerful stations, running on peat. High tension currents are being more and more adopted for the transmission of energy over a large distance. From a tension of 110 thousand volts, we are transferring to a tension of 160 and 220 thousand volts. The Soviet works have produced the first experimental underground oil insulated cable for a tension of 220 thousand volts.

The Electro-Technical Industry. The mighty development of electrical construction requires the corresponding machine construction basis. Although the output from the Soviet electro-technical industry rose in 1931 to fourteen times that of the pre-war figure, nevertheless, it is far from being able to satisfy the demand. There is not one single branch of industry in the U.S.S.R. which can show such an increase. The "Electro-Works" in Moscow, producing transformers, electric lamps, and apparatus of all kinds, fulfilled its Five Year Plan in two-and-a-half years. The "Dinamo" works in Moscow, producing motors for trams and cranes, raised its output from 3 million roubles in 1913 to 15 million in 1930 (at the same rate of exchange). In the first eight months of 1931, 790 thousand kilowatts of motors and 1,650 thousand kilowatts of transformers were produced. But this is not enough. New works must be built in Moscow, Kharkov, in the Urals. In Kharkov a new turbine and generator works is being equipped, which will give a yearly

output of units with a total capacity of 1 million kilowatts. In Sverdlovsk in the Urals the construction of the most powerful electro-technical combine in the world will be started, which will include a turbine-generator works, a works for the construction of heavy machinery, a transformer works, cable works, and a high voltage installation works; moreover, the combine will have several departments for working up primary parts: a foundry, forge, insulation department, porcelain department, etc. The output of the combine in 1935 should exceed the whole volume of production of the electro-technical industry of the U.S.S.R. in 1931. The number of workers, thanks to the maximum mechanisation and the enormous productivity of labour together with the mass output, will be only 85 thousand.

Automobile Construction. The U.S.S.R. is very poor in automobiles, since until quite recently its own industry did not exceed an output of more than a few thousand automobiles yearly, and extensive import was impossible. But the U.S.S.R. must create its own mighty automobile transport. This is required primarily by the collectivisation of agriculture and the building up of State farms. Our large socialised agriculture, occupying an area of thousands of acres, side by side with the tractor and the combine, require lorries for local transport and light cars to keep contact with the individual sections.

The Soviet Union, in deciding to build up its own automobile transport, took the road which is not open to capitalist countries. Instead of building several small, uneconomical works, which would produce several thousand automobiles yearly, it is building three works. One is near Nijni Novgorod and will produce 140 thousand machines of the Ford type each year, chiefly $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton lorries; the second in Moscow, which was set in motion on October 1st, with a present yearly output of 25 thousand, which will ultimately rise to 50 thousand lorries of the 2.6 ton American Autocar type; the third in Yaroslavl, which will produce powerful five-ton lorries.

The Moscow Amo works, now called the Stalin works, are equipped with the latest American lathes, and according to one of the directors of the General Motors Company, is one of the most modern lorry works in the world.

The Nizhigorodsk auto works were built during the course of one-and-a-half years, where previously there were open fields and forests. A new town has sprung up—Dzerzhinsk—one of the first Socialist towns in the U.S.S.R. The works cover many kilometres of land, and the main mechanical workshop is one kilometre long. On November 1st, 1931, this works will begin to operate.

Tractor Construction. "If," wrote Lenin in 1919, "we could to-morrow produce 100 thousand first class tractors, supply them with benzine and provide

them with chauffeurs (you all know quite well that at the moment this is a mere fantasy) then the middle peasant would say: 'I am in favour of the Commune' (i.e. of Communism)." ("Lenin, Volume XVI., page 153, Russ. ed.)

To-day over 100 thousand tractors are working on the fields of the U.S.S.R., and millions of middle peasants have turned towards Socialism. More than this: the U.S.S.R. has built its works which can give over 100 thousand tractors annually. The Stalingrad tractor works has been working over a year. The tractor department of the Putilovsk works has been working just as long, having developed out of a small workshop. On October 1st, the Kharkov tractor works, an improved copy of the Stalingrad works, was opened; this was built in one year.

The Putilovsk works gives an output of 25 thousand 10 h.p. Fordsons; the Stalingrad and Kharkov works are each reckoned to give 50 thousand 15 h.p. "internationals."

An even greater works is under construction in Cheliabinsk. Beginning with 1933, it will produce annually 40 thousand 60 h.p. caterpillar tractors. The propaganda waged against the U.S.S.R. has made much noise about the first failures of the new Stalingrad works. It is not so easy for the young worker, who quite recently left the village, for the young engineer, not so long ago an ordinary worker, to master the new equipment and methods of the mass production of machinery. However, there is one thing that is astounding, and that is the speed with which the group of workers who run the Stalingrad works are overcoming their "infantile sickness" in connection with production. The works which a year ago were producing only a few tractors daily—where six months ago thirty tractors daily seemed a great achievement—are now turning out over 100, and are confidently moving forward to achieve the planned output of 144 tractors daily. The Kharkov tractor works, using the experience gained by its older brother, has begun from the start at a more rapid rate of output.

It is unlikely that in Europe there are many machine-constructing works which can be compared with the Kharkov tractor works in capacity of output and technique. There is not a tractor works like it in the world with such a capacity. The foundry is entirely mechanised; pattern-making machines, transporters, sand-carrying apparatus, afford the minimum expenditure of physical labour power on the part of the workers. The assembling department, 490 metres long, is bright with rows of the newest American and German lathes, with individual electric gears. On the small conveyor the tractor motors are collected. From the big conveyer a complete tractor leaves the works every six minutes.

Machine Construction. In all branches of machine construction enormous works are being created. We

have already mentioned the Tagil truck combine and the Sverdlovsk heavy machinery works. The latter with a similar works in the Ukraine, Novy-Kramatorsk, will be in a position to equip sixteen large blast furnaces yearly with a corresponding number of Martin furnaces, and to build six blumings with their complete system of rolling lathes.

In the Urals a works is under construction which will give a thousand excavators annually. They will be required for the considerable development of earthworks and mining, which is taking place in the U.S.S.R.

New works for the construction of high pressure boilers, locomotives, pumps, are being built; works which will turn out machinery for the food industry, textile machines, etc., etc.

It is especially worth while mentioning the works for the construction of agricultural machinery. In Rostov-on-Don a works has been built which will produce twice as many machines as the whole of pre-war Russia. Three new works are almost complete for the production of combines—machines which will at one and the same time cut the corn, thresh it and collect the grain in sacks. Each of these works will produce more combines than the whole of Europe.

Chemical Industry. The chemical industry of the U.S.S.R. is being created from the embryonic form of industry which previously existed. Huge chemical combines are under construction in Bobryk, in the Moscow basin, in Berezniki, North Urals, Nizhni-Novgorod, Donetsk basin. The industry connected with agricultural fertilisers is developing particularly rapidly. In connection with the newly-opened deposits of potassium in Solikamsk (Urals), which are of world importance, the first mine is almost completed, which in 1932 will give an output of one million tons of potassium salts, and during the following years 2.5 million tons annually. This works has no rival even in Germany. A second similar mine is being created alongside of the first. In the Donetsk basin, in the Urals, in Middle Asia, nitrogen works are being built.

In the Far North, beyond the Arctic Circle, on the Koylsk peninsula an expedition sent by the Academy of Sciences two years ago discovered an enormous deposit of apatite-nepheline which forms first-class material for the hyperphosphate industry, for the glass and aluminium industry. There where not so long ago reindeer wandered over the vast tundra, a town has sprung up, a mine has been opened, and an enriching factory, railway, and high road built. A large hydro-electrical station, a chemical combine, are under construction, and soon this place will be a mighty industrial centre.

IV.

We do not intend to give a list of the giants in other branches of industry. The examples given sufficiently eloquently show the scale upon which we are working and the sort of construction work which is typical of the Soviet Union. We want now to dwell upon other features of this construction.

In the U.S.S.R. individual works, and complex combines are under construction, the separate parts of which are joined together in one harmonic whole. Let us take for example the Dnieper combine. Around the Dnieper hydro-electrical station, which we described above, a series of works are being built—energy consumers. First the metallurgical works with an output of one million tons of iron, which will produce about 300 thousand tons of high quality steel, refined in electric furnaces. Next there is the iron-smelting works with an output of 100 thousand tons a year, including 80 thousand tons of iron-manganese. Then the 40 thousand ton aluminium works, where aluminium is produced by the method of electrolysis, and the metal magnesia works; the chemical works, fireproof brick works, mechanical repair works, which complete the composition of the combine. The combining principle of the combine is cheap electrical energy.

In the Urals and Siberia combines are under construction which include: copper-smelting works, sulphuric acid works which work on kilned sulphur gases, and chemical works. Other combines are built in connection with the multifarious use of timber, coal, etc.

We have already mentioned several large works under construction in Middle Asia and Kazakstan. The national policy of the Soviet Government finds its expression in the fact that in the national regions, doomed in the days of the Tsar to economic backwardness and systematic plunder, industry is now being developed intensively, railways and canals are being constructed, schools opened, and industrial cadres being trained from among the local population. Hundreds and thousands of representatives of the national minorities are being trained for skilled labour in the Moscow and Leningrad works, so that they will be able to transfer their knowledge to the newly-constructed textile and metal factories and works of Uzbekistan, Trans-caucasia, Kazakstan, Turkmenistan.

Side by side with the gigantic scale of construction, the speed with which the work is carried on is astounding. In one year the Kharkov tractor works was built and equipped, in two years the first series of Magnitogorsk works. As soon as a town bursts through the surface of the earth, at the will of the Soviet Government tens of thousands of workers form themselves into columns of builders; hundreds of excavators and cranes work among the seams in the

earth, and in the tundra, the deserts, the steppes industrial giants grow up.

There was a time when Europe was astounded at American speed, at the rapid growth of towns, construction of large enterprises and skyscrapers. The U.S.S.R. has left American speed behind. Adopting the best examples of American technique, in consultation with foreign engineers, the proletariat of the Soviet Union has at its disposal at the same time sources of accumulation and increased rates of development which the decaying capitalist world does not and cannot command.

The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is seized with true enthusiasm for this enormous work of construction. Socialist competition and shock brigades have spread like wildfire among the workers on construction. On the Dneprostroi in 1930 the workers offered their counter plan from below in connection with the cementing of the dam; they even exceeded this plan and beat the world record, cementing over 50 thousand cubic metres in one month.

The miracles of heroism shown by the workers building the Kuznetsk metallurgical works, who worked during the winter in 50 degrees of frost on laying down the foundations of the blast-furnaces, were simply astonishing.

Among the first rows of shock-brigading builders the Young Communists are always to be found. One of the blast-furnaces of the Magnitogorsk works was entirely mounted by Y.C.L. workers. In order to guarantee the completion of work in the stipulated time, gangs of workers often worked with no rest days at all. There were many cases when the fitters worked for two shifts on end. Individual workers and whole gangs of earth-diggers, cement workers, electric fitters, by means of competition, set unheard-of records in the sphere of productivity of labour.

The role of the party organisation in this connection is exclusively important. The task of the party vanguard is to muster together an enormous mass of builders, many of whom have come straight from the villages, of engineers, technicians, fitters; and to inspire them with a consciousness of the importance of the work they are creating; to help them to overcome their own interests for self-gain—to fire the masses with creative enthusiasm and lead them in the struggle against difficulties.

Only under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party is it possible to build in such difficult conditions and achieve results like those gained in the U.S.S.R.

It is not only the workers themselves who are fired with enthusiasm in connection with their construction work. The whole working population look with sympathy and pride upon the growing giants, and do everything in their power to help in their construction. The whole working population of Kharkov, per capita, took part in the construction of the Kharkov tractor works. Many thousands of

cubic metres of earth were dug, and millions of bricks laid by the Kharkov volunteers. On the eve of the opening, the whole area of the works was cleaned of all rubbish and so on, during the "subbotnik" of the Kharkov population. The Y.C.Lers of the Moscow Proletarian District arranged a similar "subbotnik" in the Amo automobile works on the eve of its opening. When there were not enough workers of various trades to carry on in the automobile works, the workers in the Nizhni-Novgorod works mobilised gangs of volunteers who liquidated the break.

The workers in those factories working on the equipment for new giants, are especially enthusiastic about them. In passing through departments of many of the Leningrad works, one can see placards on the lathes inscribed thus: "Here machinery is being made for the Magnitostroi." A lathe with this inscription is never idle. In these factories the Young Communists organise a system of controlling outposts, who watch the fulfilment of orders for new giant constructions, and give the signal when there is any hitch in the work.

The movement of goods trains, carrying materials and machines for Magnitostroi, is also under social observation. The locomotive brigade which brought a goods train of machinery from Leningrad to Magnitostroi four times, and each time shortened the scheduled time, has now become famous.

Thus the whole working-class is taking part in the construction of Socialist industry, and is helping to speed up the work. The enthusiasm of the workers, toiling for Socialism, for the collective group which is working under the leadership of the Communist Party—this is one of the secrets of Bolshevik rates of development.

V.

The face of Soviet industry is radically changing under our own eyes. Whereas to-day two-thirds of its constant capital bears the stamp still of the past, only a little has been added to it, in one or two years over two-thirds of the total capital of industry will consist of newly-constructed units which form the point of technique are up to the world level. This means an enormous increase in the productivity of labour and radical improvements in the conditions of labour.

But it is no simple affair for the masses to master the new, complicated machinery and put it into action. New works and factories require cadres, qualified workers, fitters, foremen, engineers, organisers. The U.S.S.R. is faced with the task of creating a gigantic number of new cadres. There can be no question of solving this problem by bringing in cadres from abroad. The Soviet Union welcomes the industrial immigration into the U.S.S.R. of qualified workers and engineers, especially if it is not conditional upon

the expenditure of foreign valuta, but immigration of this kind can play only an auxiliary part in solving the problem of cadres.

The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. must solve this problem itself, by studying and learning to master technical methods, by producing from among its own ranks tens and hundreds of thousands of new technicians, engineers, who have finished technical institutes, evening courses, correspondence classes. In all the large works, higher technical institutes have been organised, the students of which work simultaneously in industry and combine theory with practice (Dneprostroi, Kuznetsk).

Our young Soviet engineers have still not acquired much industrial experience, yet from among their number can already be found talented inventors, energetic organisers of production; and in a few years' time these new specialists, from among the working-class, having learned by their mistakes, will grow in stature. European engineers may envy the young Soviet engineers, their industrial schools which train them by means of work on the building of giants; for the former, on finishing high school, hang around the streets for years in search of work, or live from hand to mouth as draughtsmen.

Let the capitalists and their social-democratic lackeys jeer at the infantile sicknesses in our new Soviet works. He who laughs last, laughs longest. "Each new brick laid in Magnitogorsk or on our other building works," said the Leningrad Party Committee secretary, Comrade Kirov, "hurls down hundreds of bricks from the capitalist buildings."

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workers in the U.S.A. has decreased since December, 1930, by 22 per cent. and wages have been reduced by 36 per cent.

Even more serious is the situation of farm-labourers and workers in the colonial countries, in which exploitation in essence is not limited by even formal conditions.

Such are the results of the attack made by capital on the standard of living of the workers and the toiling masses, an attack carried out with the active help of the "Socialists" of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

No less energy is thrown by the capitalists of all countries, here again with the active support and help of the Social-Fascists, into the attack on the working class along the line of reducing the even previously beggarly doles for the unemployed. An illustration, characterising the general situation in this sphere, may be taken by the example of Old England, in which the reduction of the dole for the workless has been carried out, on the 1st of October of this year, as shown by the following figures:

Each tractor that goes to the collective farms from the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor works, every turbine-generator, every locomotive and excavator produced at the new machine-construction works of the U.S.S.R., strengthens the force of Socialism, creates the factors necessary for its mightier growth, lessens the chances of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. *In the U.S.S.R. the greatest mechanised agricultural industry in the world has been created. In the U.S.S.R. the most concentrated advanced Socialist industry in the world is going forward at a rapid rate.* The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are learning to master science and technique and to use it in order to free humanity from exploitation, oppression, poverty, to use it in the interests of Socialism. This is what the building of giants means in the Soviet Union.

When the unprecedented hurricane of crisis is throwing tens of millions of wage slaves of capitalism into the depths of hunger and poverty, when it is undermining their faith in the infallibility and eternity of the capitalist system; when the most backward, the most ignorant are awakening to the struggle, when throughout the capitalist world Fascist terror and imperialist robbery is rampant, the fine Socialist construction work in the Soviet Union shines like a torch before the workers of the world, showing them what the heroism of the workers is capable of, when they march forward under the banner of Lenin and call upon the masses to fight against capital, to fight for peace, for bread, for all power to the workers, for the World October.

	Men		Women	
	A	B	A	B
Over 21	17/-	15/-	15/-	13/-
18-21	14/-	12/-	12/-	10/-
17-18	9/-	7/-	7/-	6/-
16-17	6/-	7/-	5/-	5/-
Adult dependants				
(only one)...	9/-	9/-	9/-	9/-
Child				
dependants	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-

Note.—The existing rates of relief are denoted by the letter "A" and the new rate by the letter "B." At the same time the receipt of relief has been limited to 26 weeks and other measures have been introduced limiting the receipt of relief.

The attack on the standard of living of the working class is also being carried on by raising tariff-duties, by increasing direct and indirect taxes, by the artificial support of retail prices, which condemns the proletariat to the most cruel mass poverty and extinction by starvation.

This circumstance throws especially sharp

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THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

By N. KRUPSKAYA

EVERY revolution is carried out by the masses. The same is the case with the cultural revolution. When in 1923 I happened to complain about the slowness with which we were liquidating illiteracy, Comrade Lenin said: "It is all a question of the masses themselves taking up the matter, then illiteracy will be liquidated." In his last article he wrote about our standing face to face with the cultural revolution. Beginning with October the masses have been thirsting for knowledge; but these were the active ones mainly, a vast number, true, yet tens of millions were left behind illiterate, in the dark. The rate of progress remained slow when compared with that which the new order inside the country required. Only when the industrialisation of the land began to go forward rapidly, and then the reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collectivisation, the rate of progress as regards cultural work also began to change. A sharp turn was taken in 1928.

In the summer of 1928, on the initiative of the Y.C.L. the "cultural offensive" so called, was begun. The most clear-cut, well-defined form of "cultural offensive" was to be found in Saratov, a town on the Lower Volga. The district of Saratov during the 1905 revolution was one where many peasant uprisings had taken place, which culminated in repressions by the Tsarist Government, from which the landlords almost completely fled, and big landlord estates had almost completely disappeared before October. This affected Saratov itself. Of the non-industrial centres this was one of the most cultured. And there in 1928, the "cultural offensive" was begun on the initiative of the Y.C.L., a large cultural movement to liquidate illiteracy. They began to foster the illiterates on every hand; they were given preferential treatment in queues, plays were arranged specially for them—for it turned out that many illiterates had never been to the theatre—Y.C.L. girls began to visit the illiterates and keep an eye on their children while the mother went to evening classes. They began to teach the illiterates in their homes. A whole army of volunteers was formed who worked under the slogan "literate, teach the illiterate." Those volunteers who worked gratis on the cultural front, began to be called "culture army soldiers." Their number continued to increase, the masses themselves chose them from among their own number.

The winter of 1928-29 was the time when the "cultural offensive" began to be launched

in the towns. In 1928 it was spread to the village. Here it covered the darkest corners of the Union. The Central Black Earth Region had previously been a district where the most reactionary landlords had held sway, where the people were completely illiterate, where the villages were already degenerate. The "cultural offensive" attacked these places. The children taught their mothers; the husbands—their wives. The school for grown-up illiterates—the "liqupunkt"—often had no rooms to work in and led a nomad existence, going from cottage to cottage. You could go into a cottage and find a picture like this: the room packed with illiterates, among them women with breast-fed babies, all eager to learn, to write, to read. The atmosphere very hot. The owner of the cottage—so one of the inspectors who visited there relates—is pleased to have his visitors, and is also not idle; he is sharpening their pencils with an axe (there is no penknife). The youth offensive had begun in the village. Students from the upper courses in the Pedagogical Technical Institute in the Black Earth Region took it in turns to come to the village on two to three months' practical work. The peasants rode out to meet them on sleighs, carrying warm felt boots and skin-coats.

The offensive made to liquidate illiterates has already given fine results. Leningrad is now a town where the inhabitants are completely literate. The Vorobich district is the same. By the XIV. Anniversary of the October Revolution the whole of the Leningrad Region will be entirely literate. The Moscow and Saratov and other districts are aiming at the same results.

There was a particularly large percentage of illiteracy before the revolution among the national minorities; for instance, 7 per cent. were literate among the population of Chuvash; 12.7 per cent. were literate among the Tartars of the late Kazansk province; 3.3 per cent. among the Mariitsi of the late Ufinsk region; there were 9.3 per cent. literate among the Mordva of the late Kazan province; 3 per cent. among the Tadjiks; 2 per cent. Cossacks; 0.6 per cent. Kirghiz; 0.7 per cent. of the Turks in the late Zakasny region; 0.8 per cent. of the Buriats in the late Trans-Caucasus region; 0.7 per cent. of the Yakuts; of the North Caucasian peoples, 1.7 per cent. of the Cherchentsi and 3 per cent. of the Kabardins were literate, and so on.

The difficulties connected with working among the national minorities were enormous—the hard conditions of life, the old customs, century-long

enslavement of the women — all this made it extremely difficult to liquidate illiteracy; transportable forms of work had to be created—red nomad tents and covered carts like the nomads use, in order to carry on considerable agitational work. There were great achievements, especially in those places where industrialisation and collectivisation are in full swing. Adygeya was an especially fine example. Before the revolution only the Cherkess aristocracy went to school. The total number of literate persons was 3 per cent. of the population. In 1930 Adygeya became collectivised on an all-round basis, which gave an enormous stimulus for the development of the whole of their cultural life. Throughout the villages a thick network of stations were organised for fighting against illiteracy. Old and young sat down to the alphabet, and the Cherkess women were especially ardent. By the Lenin days in the beginning of 1931, Adygeya became a land of all-round literacy. And in this respect Adygeya is not alone.

Similar victories are to be seen in Kabardino-Balkaria; for only 2.3 per cent. of the population were literate before the revolution, and now the percentage has risen to 80 per cent.

And everywhere throughout the regions and republics of the national minorities we find this enormous thirst for knowledge. "The cultural offensive has begun in the Kalmytsk Region," we read in the "Izvestia," our governmental organ. "In the Kalmytsk-Bazarinsk steppes, near Astrakhan, on the shores of the Inaksk lake, a big national festival recently took place. Over 4,000 persons, 1,500 of whom were "cultural army soldiers," took part in the festival. Meetings were held, and then under the open sky a play was enacted, "Ulan Sar," dedicated to the second Bolshevik spring. Such a multitudinous gathering is the first to occur in the history of the Kalmyks. Half the population of this Mongolian nomad tribe was present at the festival, and afterwards the "cultural army soldiers" left for other places to meet other tribes." Everywhere there is this push forward. In White Russia in 1920 there were only 31.5 per cent. literate, and in 1930-31 the figure* had reached to 87 per cent.

We shall soon become a literate country, but we have not yet arrived there, and we must not slacken our work until the job is finished. This is why the Soviet People's Commissars on August 15, 1931, made the following decision: "To institute universal compulsory education for the illiterate populations in towns and villages throughout the territory of the R.S.F.S.R. to

cover persons between the ages of 16 and 50 years."

The Soviet of People's Commissaries made this decision, when the cultural work had been launched so successfully as to make this Decree fully realisable. This work cannot be carried out administratively, but by the methods worked out during the course of the "cultural offensive." "Shock brigades, Socialist competition, the 'social tug,' counter-plans from below and so on should be widely used in all the work carried on to realise universal education," says the Soviet of People's Commissaries.

But the "liquidation of illiteracy" offensive does not only deal with technical knowledge; it must draw all the scholars of the schools for liquidating illiteracy into the active work of Socialist construction; give them a wide political outlook and general cultured methods of working; prepare them for further studies. A whole network of schools for collective farm workers and town workers has been created everywhere.

Take the collective farms. In the Urals there is to be found the Krasno-Poliansk district. This is a district of all-round collectivisation. Among the collective farm workers there are not a few old partisans, who fought against the Kolchak armies, and who even in those days had organised into collective farms. In this district there are about thirty villages. And right in the centre of this district, in one of the biggest villages, a Palace of Culture has been organised, where the villagers send their delegates to study—there are sanitation courses, liquidation of illiteracy, the question of kindergartens, the study of agronomy and cattle-farming. Near the Palace of Culture there are a few model institutions, where those attending the educational courses learn how to make use of the various measures taught them in practice. In another village there is the collective farmers' university. The collective farming movement awakens the consciousness of the women. "The women have also now turned towards the collective farms," asserted one of the women delegates to the last Congress of Soviets. And having turned to the collective farms, the women find themselves face to face with culture.

As for the workshops, here we find a complete network of workers' educational institutions, both day and night institutes, and even correspondence classes. The way to knowledge is open wide before the working men and women. In many workshops over half the workers are studying. The question is now being raised of organising large undertakings—schools, where every single working man and woman would have a chance to study.

* All the figures which follow from now on, will concern only the R.S.F.S.R.

The working men and women have set themselves the task of becoming the masters of technique. The Supreme Council of National Economy has opened a special department to deal with technical propaganda. Thus day by day the working men and women, the collective farm men and women, wage war in the interests of widening their range of knowledge. Even now the workers in the collective farms dig up all they can out of newspapers, from speeches, listening in on the radio, hearing stories—but they are not systematic. Their grasp of knowledge will become systematic when they attend the various schools for grown-ups, when they begin to use text-books. The demand for text-books, incidentally, is positively enormous!

Ever new cadres flow into the ranks of the working class. They come from the villages, having no knowledge of the ways of life in industry; at first they feel lost to the wide inside the factories. So the All-Union Council of Trade Unions make a decision that every new worker should pass through preliminary "introductory courses" in connection with industry. These introductory courses should give the new worker an idea of the raw material he is to work up, how and from whence it is obtained; they should be shown the whole working-up process, should learn to understand the machines, and how to work them. These introductory courses should give the worker, who is entering the industrial process for the first time, a complete idea of the entire production as a whole, of the position which the given branch of industry and the given works occupy in the general plan of construction. The Soviet worker must not be a blind executor, but a class-conscious participator in Socialist construction. The introductory courses must help him in this respect. Measures are being taken at present to use the kinematograph for this purpose also.

The class-consciousness of the workers and masses of collective farming workers grows very rapidly. The whole turn taken in connection with labour—shock-brigading methods, Socialist competition, the solidarity of brigade work, assistance to the backward workers on the part of the more skilled ("social tug"), publicity in connection with the work, the fact that a public account must be given of the work, and social control manifested, and so on—all this educates the workers and gives them a class-conscious attitude to labour. And this latter is what gives the stimulus to knowledge. They begin to feel that the book is an instrument of labour. The masses want to work, not in the footsteps of their fathers, but in the way shown them by science.

Thus on the basis of this general cultural development of the toilers, it has become possible to put through such a measure as universal education. We are still faced with enormous difficulties; there are no buildings available, not enough text-books, exercise-books, educational books and appliances and, worst of all, there are not enough teachers properly prepared for the work. For now we demand a high standard not only of pedagogic training, but also political training from our teachers. For without it the teacher has no authority in the eyes of his pupils. "What is the Kuomintang?" ask the kiddies, and if the teacher does not know, the children give him no further peace. He must know the Kuomintang, and the latest events, and the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The problem of cadres is a very difficult one in the regions and Republics of the national minorities. The number of technical schools grows rapidly everywhere, but it is still totally inadequate. Take White Russia. In 1921-22, ten years ago, there were four technical schools, and now there are sixty-five; there were two workers' faculties, and now there are twenty-four; but all this is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the enormous demand. Pedagogical technical institutes are lacking; and yet the teacher is an essential factor. Considerable work is carried on among the teachers. "The plan to introduce universal compulsory education by the anniversary of the decision of the Commissariat for Education, 25.vii.1931," declared Comrade Bubnov, the People's Commissar for Education, in his report to Comrade Stalin, "has been accomplished with a surplus margin. The total number of scholars in the elementary schools throughout the R.S.F.S.R. (without the autonomous republics) has reached 8,709,937—105.7 per cent. of the plan of the People's Commissariat for Education. The increase in the number of scholars in the elementary schools alone was 28.4 per cent. over and above the 1929-30 figure. Throughout the autonomous republics, the total number of scholars attending elementary schools has reached 1,506,013—101.3 per cent. of the plan for the republics.

If during the last educational year 1929-30 the average percentage of school children covered was 71 per cent., which figure fell in the country places to 68.2 per cent., the percentage throughout the R.S.F.S.R. (without the autonomous republics) was raised this year to 97.1 per cent., and in the autonomous republics to 87.9 per cent. Compulsory education over a period of seven years has also been introduced in the industrial centres.

In the preparational work for the new year 1931-32, the problem of a universal seven-year course of education for all children will be one of the central tasks of our cultural constructional work.

During the last year also serious changes have been made in the quality of the teaching in schools. Our school is becoming polytechnical. Schools are being attached to factories and workshops, to collective and State farms. The link which binds them is made stronger.

On September 5, 1931 the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published, concerning the middle schools. This decision fixes the attention of the Party and Soviet organisations on the school, in general. It provides for improvements in the material conditions of the teachers, who in the matter of supplies are brought on to an equal level with the workers; instructions are given to the economic organisations, and what is most important, most significant in this decision, the need is emphasised for an intense struggle to improve the quality of the teaching provided. The school must allow of no deterioration in the sphere of revolutionary theory, must illustrate it in practice, must arm the children with general educational knowledge and educate them as Communists, make Communists of them. Methodological assistance to the teachers must be kept on a high level, a system of instructorship must be properly instituted, etc.

Whereas the struggle for universal education last year was launched as a class struggle against sectarians who were against allowing their children to attend godless Soviet schools; against the kulaks, the exploiters of child labour, and the labour of young peasants and so on; against those who defied the decision concerning universal education, i.e., questioned the rights of the children to attend schools—this year the struggle

will be much more intense. It will be far more intense because the school will cover much older persons, because the school will become more imbued with the spirit of Communism. The Central Committee declares war on all those who try to drag the school back to a wordy affair, where swotting and repetition are the order of the day; against those who fail to understand the whole enormous educational significance of the school and declare that the school is apparently doomed to extinction, becomes no longer necessary; against those who draw up Utopian plans, use untried methods which discredit the Soviet school. On the pedagogic front a war is being waged between the Communists and the petty-bourgeois tendencies in education. The line of the party in the work of educating the growing generation becomes clearer and more defined. A wave of teachers' meetings greeted the decision of the Central Committee. Forces are being mobilised, great work has begun to give methodological assistance to the schools. The Pioneer organisations, for their part, are explaining the decision of the Central Committee to millions of cadres of Young Pioneers; the school children are being told about it by the teachers. The children will help to bring our schools into order. The parents also, whose degree of literacy and class-consciousness grows with every new day, will also do their part to assist.

Fourteen years have passed since the October Revolution. The fight to defend the October Slogans goes stubbornly ahead year by year, day by day. Millions are being drawn into this struggle. By the forces of the masses we shall convert our land into a land of Socialist culture. There is still much work ahead, but with each year the cultural prospects before us become clearer, prospects which can be achieved only in the Land of the Soviets, and the security for which achievement we already have in the victories already gained on the cultural front.

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light on the fierceness of the exploitation of monopolist capital and its cruel oppression of the proletarian consumers. The attack on the standard of living of the working class in all directions is carried on by capital with the participation and active support of the Social-Fascists of all countries.

In the light of the data presented the great superiorities of the socialist over the capitalist system stand out strongly and clearly. In the U.S.S.R. the curve of economic reconstruction in all branches without exception goes sharply upwards, while in the lands of capitalism in all branches, except that of war industries, the curve is dropping abruptly. The U.S.S.R. is the only

country in the world which has fully eliminated unemployment and in which the demand for workers is growing continuously; in the lands of capitalism unemployment has attained monstrously huge dimensions (together with farm-labourers, not less than 65 millions) and goes on growing on the basis of the ever-deepening crisis.

In the U.S.S.R. the standard of living of the working class is being raised systematically and unhesitatingly, while in the lands of capitalism the absolute impoverishment of the many-millioned masses of the proletariat is unexampled in its dimensions, and the ever-developing fierce attack of capital on the standard of living of the working class and the toiling masses continues.

THE RESULTS, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC, OF COLLECTIVISATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

By NIKULIHIN

THE rivers of ink that have run from the pens of bourgeois and Social Fascist writers, to prove that the Bolsheviks cannot possibly rebuild the villages on Socialist lines, that the peasantry will inevitably develop along the bourgeois, capitalist road, are known to everyone. The hopes of the Thermidor, of the restoration of capitalism, of intervention, were all linked up with these anticipated failures. Then, when all-round collectivisation began, they prophesied a rapid breakdown of the whole business.

The Trotskyists did not believe that the forces inside the Soviet Union itself could bring about the Socialist reconstruction of peasant farms. They considered that "in order to achieve an economic revolution in Russian agriculture, a political revolution must take place in Europe," a "new re-distribution of the productive forces in Europe was essential, directed towards the adoption of these new means and instruments of production in Russian agriculture." (1) It was only a year ago that Trotsky, writing against all-round collectivisation, said: "The Socialist reconstruction of peasant farms can be imagined only as a question of decades." (2)

The Right opportunists did not believe in the success of the rate of development of constructive work in connection with the Soviet farms which had been undertaken by the Party; they did not believe in the success of collectivisation. It was only two years ago that they asserted that for a long time to come individual peasant farms would predominate here. "The Soviet farms and collective farms will give the required amount of grain in five to ten years time, and we must get this grain at once." (3)

How did it turn out in actual practice? All the prophecies of the bourgeois ideologists, Social Democrats, Trotskyists, Right opportunists, have been smashed to atoms. The rate of development of the collectivisation during the last two years is so high, that at the present moment over half the peasant farms are in the collective farms. The growth of collectivisation can be seen in the following tables:—

Several of the most important grain regions (North Caucasus, Ukrainian steppe, Lower Volga, left bank of the Middle Volga, Crimea) have finished the all-round collectivisation with over 80 per cent. of the peasant farms in the collective farms. Other regions producing grain and raw agricultural products (Central Black Earth Region, right bank of the Middle Volga, Siberia, Urals, Kazakstan, Middle Asia, etc.), have collectivised over 50 per cent. of the peasantry; all the factors are present for the completion, in these regions, of all-round collectivisation by the end of 1931, or at any rate not later than Spring, 1932. In all districts of the Black Earth Region (White Russia, Western, Leningrad, Moscow, Nizhni, North districts) the level of collectivisation during the last year has increased four to five times, reaching 30-40 per cent. of the total. With sufficiently well-launched organisational and mass work in the village, and with the institution, in the given regions, of a broad network of machinery and tractor stations and new Soviet farms, all the conditions are present for the accomplishment of all-round collectivisation in the given districts during 1932. In the course of next year, 1932, all-round collectivisation of peasant farms will on the whole be completed throughout the U.S.S.R. During the second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. will proceed as an organised, Socialist form of production. This is a victory of universal historical importance.

We have reached a radical change towards Socialism on the part of the peasant masses. What brought about this change? Comrade

(1) E. Preobrazhensky. "From N.E.P. to Socialism." 1922 pp. 119-120.

(2) L. Trotsky. "Bulletin of the Opposition." February-March, 1930.

(3) N. Bukharin. "Stenogram of the Joint Meeting of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, 30/1/1929."

Combined in the collective farms:
On 1/6/28 1/6/29 1/10/29 1/15/30 20/6/31

1. Peasant farms in the collective farms (in thousands)	417	1,003	1,919	5,778	13,499
2. Percentage of peasant farms in U.S.S.R. in collective farms	1.7	3.9	7.6	7.6	54.7

Stalin has given a splendid answer to this question:—

"The whole course of our development, the whole trend of development of our industry, and primarily the development of those industries which provide machines and tractors to agriculture, prepared for this change. It was prepared for by the policy of determined struggle against the kulaks as a class, and by the development of a grain stores in the new forms during 1928 and 1929, which brought the kulak farms under the control of the poor and middle peasant masses. It was prepared for by the development of the agricultural co-operatives, which taught the individual peasant how to work on a collective basis. It was prepared for by the network of collective farms, where the peasants proved the superiority of the collective form of farming over the individual farms. It was prepared for, finally, by the network of Soviet farms, scattered in a network throughout the U.S.S.R. and armed with new technical equipment, where the peasant was given an opportunity of convincing himself of the force and opportunities of the new technical equipment. It would be a mistake to look upon our Soviet farms as mere sources of grain reserves. Actually, the Soviet farms with their new technical equipment, with the assistance they afford to the surrounding peasants, with the unprecedented extent to which they carry on their work, are the driving force which helped the peasant masses to take this turn and move along the road of collectivisation." (From the Political Report of the XVI. Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

On the basis of the high rates of industrialisation of the country, the Soviet Government was able to raise the production of agricultural machinery construction in 1928-29 to 212.4 million roubles, thus considerably exceeding the estimate of the Five-Year Plan. Before the war, agricultural machinery and implements were produced to the amount of 60-65 million roubles only, plus the import of 50-60 million roubles. In 1933 it is proposed that the value of machinery and implements for agriculture in the U.S.S.R. will amount to 6 billion roubles, plus the entire fleet of tractors worth 3 billion roubles; in other words there will be nine times the pre-revolutionary figure. It was not "from the peasant ploughshares and peasant weeds," as Trotsky asserted, that large agricultural enterprises sprung up in the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the proletariat; but on the basis of new, higher, technical equipment.

The degree of mechanisation of the collective farms in the regions of all-round collectivisation

had reached 40 per cent. in 1930. True, the collective farms were organised, and are still being organised, in masses—on the basis of the mere pooling of the agricultural implements and so on of the peasants (including horses, horse-drawn machinery), the use of which is much more effective in collective farming than on the small individual farms. For example, a horse in a collective farm is made to perform two to three times as much work; the sowing-machines and harvesters are exploited five to six times as much; and the threshers even nine times. The launching of a broad network of machinery and tractor stations puts the collective farms on an excellent technical basis. In 1927 there was only one machine and tractor station; in 1930, 360; in 1931, 1,400; and in 1932 there will be about 2,500. About 3,000 machine and tractor stations will be required to cover all the collective farms when we have complete all-round collectivisation. Moreover, all the machinery belonging to the numerous Soviet farms will, to a very considerable extent, work on the fields of the collective farms on a contract basis. The U.S.S.R. has become not only the country with the biggest agriculture, but will soon possess the best mechanised agricultural undertakings.

In 1919 Lenin said:

"If we could, to-morrow, provide 100,000 first-class tractors, supply them with benzine, provide them with drivers (you know, of course, that this is at present a fantasy), then the middle peasant would say: 'I am in favour of the Commune'" (i.e., of Communism).

What seemed a fantasy in 1919 is now an actuality. In 1931, on the Soviet fields, 150,000 tractors of over 2 million horse-power were at work; in 1932 we reckon to have over 200 thousand tractors with a horse-power of 3.5 to 4 million horse-power.

"The important thing about the collective farm is just this, that it represents the main basis for using machinery and tractors in agriculture; that it constitutes the starting-point for the re-making of the peasant, for moulding his psychology in the spirit of proletarian Socialism." (Stalin.)

And it is just this "technical equipment, the use of tractors and machinery in agriculture on a mass scale, electrification on a mass scale" (Lenin) that radically and with enormous rapidity is re-modelling the small agriculturalist on Socialist lines.

To achieve the gigantic programme for the construction of Soviet farms and machine and tractor stations, for putting through the broadest social and technical reconstruction of agriculture, the U.S.S.R. needs to train about 3 million persons

for qualified, technical work during the next two years (beginning with engineers, mechanics, agronomists and directors, and finishing with tractor-drivers, chauffeurs, etc.).

It was only a short time ago that the renegade Kautsky was croaking about nothing good coming of the Bolsheviks and the construction of large enterprises in agriculture, because of the lack of technical and generally qualified workers. The Social Fascist forgot that the Bolsheviks have solved much harder tasks than just that. In denying the organisational rôle of the working class and discrediting their power, Kautsky and the like cannot understand that the epoch of Socialist construction produces hundreds of thousands and millions of talented organisers from among the masses of the people; that it forces ahead the technical training of tens of millions.

The Socialist organisation of industry itself is the best school for training cadres. If the capitalist organisation of industry converts workers into "accessories of machines, endowed with consciousness," if capital as compared with the manufactory still further "alienates the spiritual forces of the labour process from the worker" (Marx), then the Socialist organisation of production converts each participator not only into a conscious performer of the work falling to his lot, but also into a conscious participator in the work of organising industry as a whole, into a rationaliser, a planner of industry. The U.S.S.R. in practice proves that the Socialist method of production is not only "a method of increasing social production, but also the only method of creating perfectly developed persons." (Marx.) "Socialism makes it possible for the toilers to express themselves, to develop their capacities, to bring out talents inherent in the people like an undiscovered spring, talents which capitalism kept down, crippled and suffocated in thousands and millions." (Lenin.) The consciousness "that the workers toil not for the capitalists, but for their own State, for their own class—this consciousness is the great moving force in the work of developing and perfecting our industry." (Stalin.) The knowledge fixed in the minds of the Soviet and collective farm workers, that they are working not for the landlord, not for the capitalist, not for the kulaks, but for themselves, for the Socialist State—is also an enormous moving force in the development and perfecting of industrialised agriculture. In the Soviet Union labour, which was once a heavy, tiresome burden, is now "a deed of honour, of glory, of prowess and heroism." (Stalin.)

Already now the workers and collective farming peasants are seized with a mighty passion

to study technology, the latest technical achievements, the construction of new machines. The study of mathematics, physics, chemistry, agro-chemistry, electro-chemistry, electro-technology, biology, bacteriology, etc., in the U.S.S.R. is open to all the broad masses of toilers. How frequently can we now observe the tractor-driver or combine driver, engaged in the study of complicated mathematical formulæ in the working out of new constructions. The cutting down of the working day in industry, the introduction of large-scale machinery in agriculture, which very considerably increase the productivity of labour in the collective farms by tens of units, and this simplifies the labour—all this is dragging a population of over 100 million peasants away from barbarously heavy, almost unproductive, labour, and leaving them with time not only in which to rest, but for the study of sciences, for mass creative work, for the study of inventions. It is in the U.S.S.R. that we have the beginnings of a process of elimination of the contradictions between brain work and physical labour. In the approaching years, all the working population will be guaranteed a technical education. The U.S.S.R. will have been converted into a gigantic workshop for training cadres; will successfully solve the problem of cadres not only for Socialist industry, but also for Socialist agriculture.

The correct policy of the Party as regards the basic masses of the peasantry, which has been carried out all the time by the C.P.S.U., the determined advance against capitalist elements in town and village, and the transition to the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of all-round collectivisation; the determined struggle on two fronts, primarily against the Right, the greatest danger in the Party—safeguarded the success of collectivisation in the U.S.S.R. In speeding up the rate of development of collectivisation, the method of all-round collectivisation was of decisive importance. We had moved on from the old slogan of liquidating them as a class, thus "putting this policy into action as an indissoluble organic section of the all-round collectivisation being operated by the poorest and middle peasant masses." (XVI. Congress, C.P.S.U.)

What social changes took place in the village as a result of the successes in all-round collectivisation?

Primarily more extensive and stronger support was given in the villages to the Soviet Government. If, hitherto, this support had come from the poor peasantry alone, now the chief basic support had become the collectivised peasantry (all the collective farmers). The middle peasant, the central figure in Soviet agriculture in the not

so distant past, was converted inside the collective farm from an ally into a supporter of the Soviet Government in the village.

Why do the middle peasants, upon entering the collective farms, become converted into stable, true supporters of the Soviet Government in the village? Because on entering the collective farms, in the face of a violent class struggle in the village around the question of collectivisation, the middle peasant, by this very act, firmly and determinedly establishes the fact that he is on the side of the working class. He firmly denies the capitalist road of development in the village and takes the Socialist road. The middle peasant as a collective farmer is not yet a Socialist, but he firmly and determinedly takes the road of Socialist reconstruction. He understands full well, like the poor peasant, that there is no other way out of poverty and kulak slavery, than the road of collectivisation. By entering into a close economic alliance with the Government of the proletariat, by giving this Government all his marketable produce and receiving from it industrial and financial assistance (machinery, factories built for the preliminary working up of agricultural products, manure, credits and so on), the collective farming peasantry has taken the road which will directly include their farms in the united plan of Socialist economy. But this does not yet mean the destruction of all class distinctions between the proletariat and peasantry. These distinctions for a considerable period of time to come will be preserved and they will be outlived finally only as the Socialist reconstruction of the collective farms proceeds, only with the conversion of group ownership of the means of production into the ownership of property by the whole of society, with the conversion of collective farmers into workers, working on behalf of Socialist society.

The question of the ally of the proletariat in the village has cropped up afresh in connection with all-round collectivisation. At present the ally of the proletariat is the poor peasant and individual middle peasant who supports the collective farm idea; who participates in the fight against the kulak; who helps to build up collective farms. He who, from being a supporter of collective farming work, rapidly passes on to the point where he enters the collective farm himself, becomes a supporter of the Soviet Government. In connection with successes in the field of collectivisation, the overwhelming mass of peasantry in the U.S.S.R. have now become an actual, stable support of the Soviet Government. This is a point of enormous political importance, a fact which makes for the further consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the most import-

ant factors necessary for the success of our entire Socialist construction.

In the spring of 1931, 300,000 collective farms, together with 4,000 Soviet farms, took in over two-thirds of the total sown area under summer crops; and only about one-third was sown by individual peasants. In other words, the individual middle farmer is now not the main force, not the central figure in Soviet agriculture, but the peasants in the collective farms have taken his place; and this, not only in the more advanced grain-producing zones (there the collective farmers are becoming the only force), but throughout the U.S.S.R. "The rôle of the individual poor and middle peasants in agricultural production has become a secondary one" (from the resolution of the June Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.).

The kulaks, not so long ago a strong force in the village, have suffered a crushing blow as a result of the development of all-round collectivisation. The kulaks are being destroyed as a class. In the chief grain-producing regions, this destruction of the kulaks as a class is coming to an end, and in the remaining regions the work will be finished in the next one or two years.

The problem as to "who will be victorious," solved earlier on the industrial field, will on the whole be solved during 1931 in Soviet agriculture. In 1931 the U.S.S.R. will complete the building of the foundations of Socialist economy. The Socialised sector will occupy the following position according to the plan: 69.1 per cent. of the general fund; 97.5 per cent. of the total production of industry; 50 per cent. of the total production of agriculture; 81.8 per cent. of the national income and 97.6 per cent of the commercial turnover. Actually the relative position of the Socialised sector will be higher still, if we take into consideration the fact that the plan of collectivisation and the sowing plan in the Soviet farms were exceeded in actual practice. United in the collective farms we have 16 million proletarians, 3 million artisan-co-operators, and no fewer than 15 million peasant farms, which will form the basis of a Socialist army of labour.

Even by the middle of 1931, the huge, overwhelming masses of the Soviet population will be drawn directly into the Socialist sector.

"We have already left behind the transitional period in the old sense, having now entered the period of direct, extensive Socialist construction along the whole front. . . . We have entered the period of Socialism, for the Socialist sector now controls all the economic levers of our entire national economy." (Stalin.)

If with the institution of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and with the introduction of the New Economic Policy, there were five economic

forms among which predominated the small traders, now with the enormous, unwavering increase in the relative position and rôle of Socialist industry in the U.S.S.R., the conversion of the natural and simple commodity form into the united collective farming economic form is taking place at an enhanced rate, the liquidation of the capitalist sector is proceeding (the State capitalist form also fades away; even before it had not developed to any very considerable extent). In the U.S.S.R. all branches of national economy are being brought under Socialist industry, although there still as yet remain the class distinction between the proletariat and the collective farming peasant, there remains still a difference between the undertakings of a directly Socialist type (State enterprises) and the Socialist type (collective farms).

The U.S.S.R. proved in actual practice that it is possible to create a society without capitalists and landlords, without private ownership of the means of production, which will promote a rate of development of the productive forces, which is impossible under capitalism. The increase in production of Socialist industry annually is 50 per cent., instead of the 6 per cent. increase of Tsarist Russia. The increase of agricultural production is 18-20 per cent., as against the 3 per cent. annual increase before the revolution, and the 5-6 per cent. increase in the restoration period. With the completion of all-round collectivisation, it will be possible to obtain an annual increase of production of 25-30 per cent. for agriculture.

On the basis of the construction of Soviet and collective farms, we were able to solve, generally speaking, the grain problem in 1930, and we are completely solving this problem during 1931. The commercial production of grain in 1931 was three times larger in absolute figures than in 1926-27, and 35-40 per cent. in excess of the pre-war figure.

The collective and Soviet farms, without the individual peasants, will give eight times more commercial grain during 1931 than the kulaks gave in 1926/27; they will give approximately twice as much commercial grain as the whole of agricultural U.S.S.R. gave in 1926/27. It was only a short time ago that the Right opportunists proposed the import of grain to the U.S.S.R. from abroad; demanded that our Socialist industry which was racing ahead should be held in check. And now the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. have been given the opportunity of exporting hundreds of millions of poods of grain abroad, after having satisfied the requirements inside the country.

It is on the basis of the rapid rate of development of industry, which armed its agriculture with tractors, machinery and implements, that the U.S.S.R. was able to till the virgin soil, hitherto untouched, in the South and East of the Union, and to guarantee the mass production of grain at a comparatively low cost of production. There are no fables about "forced labour," no shouting about "Soviet dumping" that can avoid this direct fact that on the basis of the construction of Soviet farms and collective farms, on the basis of the high technical equipment at the disposal of our Socialist agriculture, the U.S.S.R. has become the largest producer of grain in the world, produced by means of the highest level of productivity with free, Socialist labour. The solution of the grain problem on the road to Socialism means the decisive victory of Socialism over capitalism inside the country, which is of universal, historic importance.

On the basis of the construction of Soviet and collective farms, the U.S.S.R. is successfully solving the further problem of raw materials. The sown area under cotton in 1931 as compared with 1929 increased by 2-2½ times; that under sugar beet and flax by twice; under sun-flower and potatoes by 1-1½ times; under vegetables during the last two years the sown area has doubled. We are on the threshold of enormous achievements in the sphere of cattle-breeding. This is the truly Bolshevik, Socialist rate of agricultural development. But how cruelly did life ring the changes on the "prophets" of the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy, who so evilly foretold the "inevitability" of a decrease in the area sown, a shortage of agricultural production as a result of collectivisation. On the contrary, on the basis of the construction of collective and Soviet farms, the U.S.S.R. has reached a "miraculous" unprecedented rate of development; on its basis the material and cultural level of the working class and the collective farming peasants is rapidly rising.

On the basis of these extraordinary rates of development, with the opportunity of using all the advantages of the Socialist system of economy, the U.S.S.R. in the minimum historical period of time will solve the problem of "catching up and overtaking" the advanced capitalist countries. On the basis of a high rate of development of Socialist industry and the complete social and technical reconstruction of agriculture, the U.S.S.R. by 1935-36 approximately will have completed the full mechanisation of farming, and by the end of the second Five Year Plan will on the whole accomplish the mechanisation of cattle-breeding. The productivity of agricultural labour in the U.S.S.R. is in many cases several times

higher than the productivity of agricultural labour in the capitalist countries. Already by the first half of the second Five Year Plan the U.S.S.R. will overtake the United States' level of grain production, will catch up the U.S.A. in total production of technical cultures. By the end of the second Five Year Plan the U.S.S.R. will overtake the United States in the sphere of cattle-breeding. By the end of the second Five Year Plan the U.S.S.R. will occupy the first place in the world for almost all branches of agricultural industry. As for the average consumption of foodstuffs per capita, the U.S.S.R. will leave the average consumption in the capitalist countries far behind.

Engels wrote that half mankind engaged in agriculture has since the beginning of civilisation been in a condition of savagery and barbarity. Under capitalism there is no way out of this savagery and barbarity, for capitalism cannot destroy the private ownership of the means of production and of the land, cannot bring about the complete substitution of large-scale production for small-scale; cannot help to destroy the division of labour, or to unite industry and agriculture, etc. But the way out of this savagery and barbarity for the agricultural population can be found and is being operated in the U.S.S.R.

"Only a society which is capable of bringing into harmonious movement its productive forces, according to a unified, common plan, will be in a position to distribute them so that it will be possible to spread the large-scale production equitably throughout the land in complete correspondence with its own development and the safeguarding and developing of other elements of production."

The workers' Soviet and collective farms are armed with technical equipment from the large-scale machine industry. The level of this equipment in the mechanised Soviet farms is already on a level with the equipment of the workers in Socialist industry. The standard of living of the workers in Socialist agricultural enterprises is approaching closer and closer to the standard of living of the industrial workers. The U.S.S.R. has entered the period where the contradictions between the town and the village, born in bourgeois society, are being forced to disappear. This process is going forward in the U.S.S.R. along the lines of unification of industry and agriculture on the basis of the electrification of the whole land, by the conversion of agriculture into an industrial type of production, the liquidation of classes, the reorganisation of the towns, the launching of a true cultural revolution in the village, etc.

The liquidation of the agronomical exploitation

of the village by the town, the liquidation of all kinds of survivals of the old disparity in the exchange of commodities, is being solved in the U.S.S.R. as a by-product of the process of Socialist industrialisation of the country, the Socialist reconstruction and industrialisation of the agriculture.

You must see to it that every agricultural worker, every small peasant and small farmer in capitalist countries should be cognisant of the achievements of Socialist agriculture, the hitherto undreamed of improvement in the material and cultural level of the workers on the Soviet farms and the peasants in the collective farms, which has been brought about as a result of the victory of the Proletarian Revolution, the institution and development of a new Socialist form of economy.

Two worlds, two systems now stand diametrically opposed to each other.

There, in the world of capitalism, a terrible economic crisis reigns; 35 million unemployed, tens of millions of partially unemployed workers, hundreds of millions of people thrown into poverty, doomed to starvation, are experiencing the horrors of a world crisis. There is to be found the impoverishment of small artisans, little farmers and landholders, as a result of the fact that the cost of producing their goods is much lower than the world prices. Here in the world of Socialism, there is an unprecedented economic revival, the complete absence of unemployment, an ever-increasing improvement in the material and cultural level of the masses. Here millions of agricultural workers and tens of millions of peasants, who have become collective farmers, have entered the arena of mighty historical action, are creating, side by side with the industrial proletariat, a society of freed Socialist producers.

There in the world of capitalism any increase in the sown area is a terrifying thought; the sight of a good harvest is a bad omen; there appeals are made to cut down agricultural production. Here, in the world of Socialism, the effort to sow the largest possible area of land goes ahead with enthusiasm; a fine standing crop of grain is a pleasing sight; the struggle to ensure the maximum increase in production goes forward with the speed of a shock-brigade, with intense enthusiasm.

There in the world of capitalism, we find horror at the forward march of technical improvements—there is a technical reaction. There we find an effort to hold back the development of technical improvements, appeals to return to the lesser productive methods of labour. Here, in the world of Socialism, there is a passionate desire among many tens of millions of the population to study technique, to reconstruct our national economy on

the level of the newest achievements in technical equipment, the endeavour to substitute hand labour for machinery in all branches and in all grades of production; the effort to guarantee the widest, universal use of automatic machinery in Socialist production both in industry and agriculture.

There in the world of capitalism we find forced, slavish labour on behalf of the capitalist, of the landlord. Here in the world of Socialism we find cheerful labour, each for himself, and for the future of his children. There in the world of capitalism "dumping" reigns supreme, as a method of struggle for a monopoly. Here in the world of Socialism we have the planned development of economy throughout the Union Republics, a general economic revival, invincible co-operation in the building of the new Socialist Society. Only simpletons can believe the fables of the hired scribes of the bourgeois press about "forced labour in the U.S.S.R.," about the "dumping" measures of the U.S.S.R. This is all nothing but poisonous calumny of the bourgeoisie emitted for the purpose of hiding the fact of the lower cost of production of agricultural products under Socialism, for the purpose of weakening the effect of the successes of Socialist construction upon the toiling masses of the world, for the purpose of hindering the development of Soviet export, which is so essential to us in order that the land of the Soviets may import sufficient machinery and equipment to ensure the accomplishment of the Five Year Plan. Capitalists and their hirelings, with their cries of "Soviet dumping" are trying to hide the true causes of the crisis, which emanate from the tendency of the productive forces to develop unhindered, side by side with the narrow basis of mass consumption under capitalism.

Directly opposed to capitalist "civilisation" with its savage plundering of the productive forces, with its enslavement of the toilers, the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. are creating a new Socialist civilisation, are

creating a society, "capable of setting into harmonic motion the productive forces" (Engels), a society of "freed, perfectly developed producers." If capitalist "civilisation" stands for robbing hundreds of millions of people in the colonies and semi-colonies, which constitute the majority of mankind, and dooming them to lives of barbarity and unheard of poverty; then the newly-born Socialist civilisation will lead these peoples along the road to national liberation, along the road which will develop these countries along Socialist lines. The success in connection with the complete industrial and Socialist reconstruction of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. will have an enormous effect upon hundreds of millions of peasants in China, India, Indo-China and other lands, and will smash the basis of usury bound up with the so-called Chinese agriculture," so highly praised by the ideologists of reaction, the representatives of bourgeois economy. The U.S.S.R. will help hundreds of millions of people in the countries of the East to release themselves from hunger and barbarous conditions of life, and to march forward to prosperity, to culture, and become united in the cause of Socialism.

V. I. Lenin mentioned the possibility for the U.S.S.R. "of developing the productive forces with enormous rapidity, of developing all the possibilities which would make for Socialism, and proving to all and sundry, in actual practice, that Socialism has inherent in itself gigantic forces, and that mankind has now reached a new state of development, which holds within itself unusually brilliant possibilities." The U.S.S.R. is now accomplishing this forecast of Lenin.

The capitalists of all countries must be prevented from interfering in the work of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the blood cause of the proletariat of all countries. We must reply to the menace of war against the first land of Proletarian Dictatorship by civil war, by the overthrow of the power of capital throughout the world.

THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE U.S.S.R. AND IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

By TSYBULSKI.

THE dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. has written into the pages of history fourteen years of its existence.

During these years the working class of the Soviet Union, led by its Leninist Party, has achieved tremendous successes in the cause of the Socialist industrialisation and reconstruction, in the building of Socialism. By the successes of the first two years of the Five-Year Plan it has been proven, in practice and in face of the entire world, that the building of Socialism in our country is not only possible, but that it can be and will be carried out in the briefest period known to history. It has been shown in practice that the Soviet system of economy conceals within itself tremendous, truly immeasurable, possibilities, that with each one of our new advances the possibilities make themselves seen more and more clearly. We see being fulfilled in practice the prophecy, full of genius, which was made by Lenin at the XI. Congress of the Party: "To interfuse with the peasant mass, with the rank and file of the toiling peasantry and to begin our advance is immeasurably, infinitely slower than we had dreamed of advancing, but in return, in that way the entire mass will move forward with us. *Then at the right time such a speeding up of that movement will begin, of which we cannot even dream at present.*" (Italics mine, Author.)

The Soviet Union has entered the period of this movement.

When we, with a speed unattainable for capitalist economy, were, in the first years of N.E.P., restoring our economy, which had been devastated by the war and the intervention, our class enemies at home and abroad soothed themselves with the idea that this was nothing more than the mere peculiarities of the period of reconstruction and that this by no means proved the superiorities of the Socialist system, or as they called it, the "Bolshevik experiment" over the capitalist system.

To set the already existing plants going—said they—is not such a clever matter, but we shall see what the Bolshevik rate of development looks like when they themselves have to build new factories, plans, mines, railway lines, etc.

The appraisal of the prospects for our development, made by bourgeois specialists, as is well known, found an echo, or rather, partisans among a considerable number of the members of our party—the right-wing members—it was fully

absorbed by the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. It was on this basis that Trotsky himself erected his "theory" of the impossibility of building Socialism in one country and, in opposition to the general line of our Party, advanced the theory of the "dying curve" of our economic reconstruction. At a matter of fact, this estimate, which was palmed off as incontrovertible truth, proved to be nothing more than a reactionary legend, a counter-revolutionary invention, which has been mercilessly shattered by the course of our economic reconstruction.

As is well known, the appearance of the Five-Year Plan for our economic reconstruction was greeted in different ways by the various groupings of our class enemies, but all of them asserted, as if with one voice, that if the Bolsheviks fulfilled this plan not in five, but in twenty-five, and some of them spoke even of fifty years, then that would have to be acknowledged as a miracle. They waxed ironical over the Five-Year Plan, accused us of ignorance of the elementary laws of economics and of economic laws, called it "Kremlin propaganda," etc. All of them condemned this Bolshevik "experiment" to failure. However, when the bourgeoisie of the entire world became convinced that we had not only fulfilled, but more than fulfilled, the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, and when from below, from the heart of the mass of the workers, was advanced the slogan, now the most popular among them: "Fulfil the Five-Year Plan in Four," our class enemies radically changed their outlook on the Five-Year Plan. The successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, and, at that, of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years, in the U.S.S.R. has become such a self-evident fact that voices have come to resound in the ranks of our class enemies saying that it would be good to apply and adapt the experience of the Five-Year planning system to capitalist economy. This absurd idea, moreover, has been let loose and is being let loose chiefly in order to deceive the masses, in order to sow in the minds of the masses the illusion that capitalism can, once and for all, free itself from crises—it has only to apply a good "plan."

Our successes in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan have frightened and have even more angered our class enemies and induced them to change their tactics. *They have set their chief stake on intervention.* And in order to extinguish the growing

sympathies of the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries who have been ruined by the crisis, for the victorious Socialist reconstruction and to weaken their opposition to intervention, our class enemies first of all carried out a campaign of slander about "Soviet dumping" as a manoeuvre of the Bolsheviks, the aim of which, quoth they, was to ruin the capitalist countries. After that, in connection with measures adopted by the Soviet Government to guarantee labour for its industry, they carried out another campaign of slander, about "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R. Special distinction in this vile campaign was won by the Social-Fascists, those watch-dogs of the golden calf. The bourgeoisie and its faithful hound—Social-Fascism—with their ravenous exploitation of truly enslaved hired labour, in their class hatred, have become so shameless that they have begun to accuse the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat of "forced labour"!

This campaign of slander has one good side. It gives a good occasion for raising in its full extent the question: In what way, in its essence, does the character of the emancipated labour in the land of the proletarian dictatorship differ from the character of the truly forced labour in the lands of capitalist exploitation? To illustrate this difference, we shall pause over one phenomenon which would be absolutely unthinkable in capitalist lands and which has received wide extension in the U.S.S.R.

In analysing the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, at the XVI. Congress of the Party, Comrade Kuibyshev declared:

"Without hesitation, I must say that the most important cause of our vigorous movement forward is Socialist Competition and Shock-brigade methods. It is only thanks to this growing political activity of the working class, only thanks to the fact that the working class has to the last degree become conscious of the common union of its class interests with the building of Socialism, only thanks to the fact that the working class is giving all its forces to advance the development of industry, and, in the fastest speeds possible to overtake and surpass the capitalist countries; it is only thanks to this that we have achievements corresponding to it."

We see in practice the fulfilment of the prophecies, made by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, when he declared in April, 1918, that "Socialism not only does not extinguish competition, but, on the contrary, for the first time, creates the possibility for applying it in a really extensive way, on a really mass-scale, draws the majority of the toilers really on to the arena of this work, in which they may display their powers, develop

their capacities, disclose their talents of which there is an inexhaustible spring in the people and which capitalism has abused, crushed and strangled by thousands and millions."

Socialist competition and shock-brigade methods embrace the greater part of the workers engaged in production. According to the figures of our investigation of June 1, 1931, in industry competition embraces on the average 68.5 per cent. of the people at work, including 69.8 per cent. workers and 59.6 per cent. specialists. The scope of competition is growing from month to month. Thus, on February 1st, 63.1 per cent. were embraced by competition, on April 1st, 65.5 per cent. and on June 1st, 68.5 per cent.

The growth of Socialist competition and of its highest forms such as shock-brigade methods, current industrial and financial plans, the movement for the transfer of the brigades to cost-accounting, the organisation of planning groups, of rationalising cells, through brigades, etc.—is an expression of the growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and a radical change in the attitude of the million masses of toilers toward labour. "The most remarkable thing in competition is that it carries out a radical change in the attitude of people towards labour, for it transforms labour from a dishonourable and difficult burden, as it was regarded earlier, into the cause of honour, the cause of glory, the cause of valour and heroism." (Stalin.)

The creative activity, the enthusiasm for production in the millions of the masses of the working class is bubbling fiercely in all the spheres of Socialist reconstruction. Together with the growth of Socialist competition, and shock-brigade methods, the cells of inventors are developing rapidly and growing, the production conferences are growing in numbers and improving their qualitative work, in fact they are becoming the mass form for the workers' participation in running production.

Thus, according to the figures produced by investigation of the state of the inventors' movement in the first quarter of 1931, in the Lenin-grad district there were organised 300 cells of inventors among the workers with a membership of 40,000 workers, in the Moscow district 300 cells with 20,000 inventors, in the Ukraine 756 cells with 17,800 inventors, in the Northern Caucasus 183 cells with 10,000 members, in the Ivanovo Industrial District 114 cells with 8,000 inventors, in Uzbekistan 20 cells with 1,500 inventors, in Trans-Caucasus 100 cells with 3,500 inventors, etc., etc.

At various factories the Inventors' Societies have grown into powerful mass organisations of workers and of the engineering and technical per-

sonnel. Thus, in the "Red Putilovets" factory 39 shop cells have been organised, uniting 1,900 members of the society, in the "Red Triangle" factory 100 shop cells uniting more than 2,000 members, in the "Electric Power" factory 24 shop cells, uniting 782 members, of which 249 are of the engineering and technical personnel, 273 are Communists and 79 are Young Communists. In the "Electric Factory," 25 shop cells, with more than 500 members.

From the example of various factories it is plain that the work of the society of inventors presents great interest for the foreign workers and specialists working in the U.S.S.R. A special cell of the Society of Inventors has been organised composed of foreign specialists and workers in the Electric Factory, also at the Nizhni-Novgorod Automobile Factory.

The meeting of the foreign workers and engineering-technical personnel at the Electric Factory has appealed to all foreign workers and engineers working in the U.S.S.R. to contribute suggestions for rationalisation and inventions to a Fund in the Name of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The cells of the Society of Inventors develop individual competition among the inventors with the self-imposed obligation to contribute the greatest possible quantity of suggestions and inventions with the greatest possible monetary effectiveness. As a result of such self-imposed obligations in the Leningrad district there was gained a general control figure of saving of 100 million roubles, as a result of the carrying out of suggestions for rationalisation and inventions in 1931. This represents 250 roubles per worker, and in the Northern Caucasus district 50 million roubles, in the Western district 25 million roubles, in the Central Black-Earth district 20 millions, in Stalingrad (throughout the city) 60 million roubles, etc.

The Society of Inventors in the "Red Putilovets" factory, took on itself the obligation to give the factory in 1931 a saving of 6 million roubles from suggestions and inventions; as a result between January 1st and June 1st, 1931, a saving of 2,506,992 roubles has been accomplished; the "Red Putilovets" has increased its obligation from six to ten million roubles of economies.

The Society of Inventors of the "Electric Wire" factory has promised to give the factory in 1931 an economy of 1,200,000 roubles from suggestions concerning rationalisation and inventions, which represents 300 roubles a year per worker.

The development of the movement for rationalisation and invention among the workers is hav-

ing tremendous influence on the entire course of the fulfilment of the plan for national economy, particularly in fulfilling its qualitative figures. A number of economic organisations which have absorbed the idea of the quick repayment of expenditures made in carrying out rationalisation suggestions and inventions and the great possibilities for overfulfilling the industrial and financial plans by developing the mass movement of invention and rationalisation—in realising the decree of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of October 26, 1930, on inventions—have included in their general plans of rationalisation, the realisation of inventions and rationalisation suggestions.

Thus, for the trust, "Boiler and Turbine," in expenditures for the general plan of rationalisation, inventive activity accounts for 27.8 per cent. (995 thousand roubles) and in returns on the plan, inventive activity accounts for 31.2 per cent. (5,910,000 roubles).

The People's Commissariat for the Ways of Communication in 1931 has included in its industrial and financial plan the realisation of 240 inventions, only 69 of which are giving 30 million roubles of economy in railway transportation.

At the factory, "Red Vyborgian," in the fourth quarter of 1930, an economy of 45,600 roubles from rationalising suggestions and inventions was gained; in the special, shock-brigade quarter 106,130 roubles and in the first quarter of 1931, 173,924 roubles.

At the chemical factory, called the "Comintern," in the fourth quarter of 1929-1930 from the suggestions which were carried out, the year's saving amounted to 106,986 roubles; in the special quarter 156,430 roubles of economies were received by the execution of 938 proposals; in the first quarter of 1931, 768 proposals were carried out and resulted in economies of 217,678 roubles for the quarter.

The figures presented show that competition and shock-brigade methods, the inventive movement of the masses, productive conferences and so on have become the method of the day-to-day work of the many-millioned masses of the working class, the method of its struggle to master the high speed of Socialist reconstruction, the powerful lever for the Socialist attack along the entire front. Capitalism created a productivity of labour unknown under serfdom. Socialism will win once and for all by creating a productivity of labour higher than that attained by capitalism. It will create it because Socialism is transforming competition into the cause of the millions, by bringing to birth in the millions the enthusiasm for labour, it is transforming labour

into the cause of honour, into the cause of glory and heroism.

On the background of the above facts how petty are the calumnious inventions of the grey-beard Kautsky, who is in his second childhood, and of the other spokesmen of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals when they talk about "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R. The advocates of world capital from the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, as well as their bosses, the capitalists, know perfectly well that the U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world in which the means of production belong to the immediate producer, to the working class, and that this has created and could not but create conditions of production, radically different from those obtaining under capitalist economy, among the working class of the Soviet Union. In order to conceal the truth from the working class of the capitalist countries as to the real state of affairs in the country which is building Socialism, the executors of the testament of world capital—the Social-Fascists from the half-witted Karl Kautsky to Otto Bauer, from Thomas to Wels, from Dan to Vandervelde—are spreading vile lies and insinuations against the working class of the U.S.S.R. and its true and

tried leader—the Leninist Party—about the use of forced labour. Truly, "in war all means are good!" To what boundless vileness can people descend in their animal-like hatred for the country that is building Socialism. No matter how hard they try, no matter how much the Social-Fascists want to do good service to their zealous masters, the capitalists, each new day it is becoming harder and harder for them to conceal the truth about the Soviet Union from the masses of workers and the toiling strata of the population in the capitalist countries.

II.

The gigantic rate of development, in the building of Socialism in town and country are accompanied by the systematic raising of the standard of living of the working class and the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, and the raising of their cultural, political and technical level. The state of the yearly wages of the workers is characterised by the following figures for the period of 1927-31; these account for the individual wages, but not the very large and ever-growing social insurance, which contributes to the raising of the standard of living of the working class as a whole. r = roubles.

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931 (for 8 mos.)	1931, % to 1927.
Qualified industry ...	778r.	847r.	925r.	1,033r.	1,136r.	146%
Unqualified industry ...	561r.	628r.	638r.	675r.	698r.	124.2%
Building trades ...	911r.	943r.	1,001.6r.	1,100r.	1,144r.	125.5%
Railway transport ...	770r.	821r.	881r.	1,033r.	1,140r.	146.7%
Other transport and com- munications ...	788r.	852r.	924r.	1,057r.	1,201r.	152.4%
Trade and credit ...	739r.	766r.	777r.	925r.	966r.	130.7%
Government institutions ...				1,410r.	1,436r.	
Social and cultural sector ...	552r.	645r.	723r.	865r.	956r.	173.2%
Other branches of labour ...	278r.	296r.	315r.	506r.	586r.	210.7%
Agriculture and forestry ...	274r.	306r.	336r.	495r.	634r.	231.4%
Comparison by sectors ...	624r.	681r.	738r.	959r.	1,064r.	172.1%
Absolute increase ...	—	57r.	57r.	221r.	105r.	
Increase in percentage against previous year ...	—	9.1%	8.3%	29.9%	10.9%	

The figures above show that during the past five years the average yearly wage of the workers has increased by 72.1 per cent.

Nothing even approaching such an increase in wages has ever happened or can ever happen under capitalism. Such rates of the increase of wages are possible only under the Soviet system, a system in which the power of the capitalists is replaced by the power of the working class, in which the tools and means of production, land, factories and plants are in the hands of the direct producer, and the development of production is subject not to the principles of competition and capitalist profits, but to the prin-

ciple of planned leadership and the systematic raising of the material and cultural welfare of the toiling masses. The distribution of the national income takes place in the interests of the systematic improvement of the material status of the workers and toiling peasantry and the expansion of Socialist production in town and village. Only in the U.S.S.R., in which the working class is the master of the country and works not for the capitalists but for its own class, are such rates in the increase of wages possible.

The increase of wages during the same period among the various branches of industry is characterised by the following figures:—

Branch of Industry.	Monthly wage		1931, % to 1927 (1927 is 100%).
	1927	1931 (for 8 mos.)	
All industry, including :	63r. 88k.	93r. 68k.	146.6%
1. Coal-mining	56r. 01k.	89r. 86k.	160.4%
2. Metal trades	63r. 24k.	94r. 54k.	150.0%
3. Machine and engineering	78r. 58k.	109r. 91k.	140.0%
4. Electric goods	89r. 76k.	128r. 45k.	143.1%
4A. Wood-working	56r. 37k.	79r. 18k.	140.4%
5. Glass-making	51r. 13k.	78r. 12k.	152.8%
6. Cement-making	58r. 64k.	81r. 44k.	138.8%
7. Chemical trades	64r. 97k.	94r. 87k.	146.0%
8. Rubber trade	92r. 35k.	105r. 00k.	113.7%
9. Paper trades	55r. 21k.	88r. 21k.	160.0%
10. Printing trades	79r. 91k.	103r. 94k.	130 %
11. Cotton textiles	52r. 87k.	69r. 22k.	130.9%
12. Woollen textiles	54r. 93k.	72r. 80k.	132.5%
13. Linen textiles	39r. 34k.	53r. 78k.	137.5%
14. Food trades	68r. 42k.	85r. 71k.	114.4%
15. Clothing trades	69r. 40k.	79r. 43k.	114.4%
16. Boots and shoes	78r. 22k.	91r. 83k.	117.4%

Beginning with October 1st of this year, by a decree of the All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions and of the All-Union Council of National Economy, a further increase of wages has been put through for the workers in the heavy metals trades (over 400,000 workers) of 23.5 per cent., coal-miners of 15 per cent. (taken together with the increase carried through on January 1, 1931, 35.5 per cent.), other types of miners by 29 per cent., workers in coke and chemistry by 20 per cent. In railway transportation wages have been raised from October 1st by 22 per cent. and water transport wages from November 1st by 12 per cent. Taking into account this situation, the average monthly wages in 1931 of workers engaged in industry amounts approximately to 97 roubles, 50 kopecks. The yearly amount of wages over the whole socialised sector of national economy (without the collective farms) in 1931 amounts (figures of Government Planning Bureau) to 19,200 millions of roubles, as against 13,500 millions in 1930, which represents an increase of 38.8 per cent.

The raising of the material and cultural welfare of the working class and toiling masses of the Soviet Union is far from being expressed merely by the increase of the individual wages received, for a considerable part of it is represented by the so-called social part of the wages, that is, that part of them which is devoted to the needs of the working class as a whole. Here belong expenditures for social insurance, training, housing, cultural construction, funds for improving the welfare of the workers, etc. Expenditures on these items are growing at gigantic paces.

In no country of the world is there such perfect and complete social insurance as we have in the U.S.S.R. It is enough to present a few facts to give a clear picture of the tremendous work accomplished in this sphere.

Expenditure on social insurance in 1927 represented 872,720,000 roubles, in 1928 980,105,000, in 1929 1,130,555,000, in 1930 1,620,000,000 and in 1931 not less than 2,400,000,000 roubles—in comparison with 1927 a growth of 275 per cent.

Thus, expenditures for relief for temporary incapacity for labour from 117 million roubles in 1925 have grown to 357 millions in 1930; expenditure on dietetic nourishment in 1931 amount to twelve million roubles (in the previous year there was no expenditure).

Expenditures for additional forms of relief grew from 49 millions in 1925 to 60 millions in 1931, the protection of invalids, widows and orphans from 63.2 millions in 1925 grew to 371.4 millions of roubles in 1931; expenditures on rest-houses and sanatoria (only through the organs of social insurance) grew from 26 millions in 1928 to 56.4 millions in 1931, and, taken together with expenditures through the People's Commissariat of Health, they amount in 1931 to more than 120 million roubles.

In furnishing medical assistance, the insurance organs are spending in 1931 490 million roubles as against 126.8 millions in 1925. On kindergartens, crèches and feeding school-children the insurance organs alone in 1931 are spending over 60 million roubles, and, added to the expenditures provided for by the government budget ex-

penditures for these purposes amount to more than 200 million roubles.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are devoting the greatest attention to rendering the conditions of labour healthy, to the technique of safety, to building up medical work and to the sanitary and special treatment for the workers and the toiling masses. Expenditures for these purposes yearly amount to hundreds of millions, and from year to year they increase at a vigorous pace. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world in which the resorts take care of the workers and the toiling masses.

Resort treatment and medical treatment are free of charge in our country for the toilers.

The fund for improving the welfare of the workers, from being 35 millions in 1927 has grown to 285 millions of roubles in 1931, by 814 per cent.

Funds assigned for the safe-guarding of labour have grown from 26 million roubles in 1927 to 155 millions in 1931, or by 596 per cent.

Expenditures for construction of housing and clubs have grown from 286 millions in 1927 to 1,100 millions in 1931, or by 383 per cent. The appearance of the old working-class quarters is being changed radically, new cities are growing up with conditions already sufficiently adapted to the requirements of socialist culture (Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Zaporozhe, Stalino, etc.).

Tremendous work is being carried out by the Party, the Government, the trade-unions and other organisations, to better the provisioning of the workers and the toiling masses, in organising

collective feeding. Throughout the country tens of thousands of closed co-operative shops have been organised; through them, first the workers and toiling masses are being supplied with sufficient products and food.

In the majority of plants in industry and transport dining-rooms and buffets have been organised of the closed type; in them the worker gets his dinner, of three courses, for the price of 30 to 45 kopecks*. Of late, dinners for higher prices have begun to be served at the factories. The conditions of feeding and provisioning are systematically being improved. Work on a gigantic scale has been developed toward solving the problem of supply by organising special Soviet farms, collective farms connected with the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, with the co-operative system, with the People's Commissariat for Supply and others, and likewise there have been organised thousands of workers' farms for vegetable-raising and animal husbandry, on the initiative of the workers themselves.

In no country of the world is there such an urge of the toiling masses toward education, and nowhere are such numbers of people being educated as in the U.S.S.R. It is sufficient if we mention the fact that in 1931 more than 3,500,000 workers and toiling peasants have been reached by different forms of mass technical training, not counting the permanent institutions of education.

The dynamics of the number of people studying in permanent educational institutions is expressed by the following figures:

Numbers and Social Composition of Higher Educational Institutions, Technicums and Factory Schools.

Institution.	Years.	Total of students.	% of workers.	% of peasants.	% civil servants.	% of others
Higher Educational and Higher Technical Institutions:	25-26	165,351	17.8	23.1	39.8	19.3
	27-28	160,422	24.2	23.3	42.3	10.2
	28-29	159,774	25.4	23.9	33.9	16.8
	29-30	165,678	30.3	22.4	41.4	5.9
	30-31	215,373	35.2	20.9	37.6	6.3
	31-32	253,481	46.6	20.1	33.3	—
(Estimates)	32-33	363,996	51.4	22.2	26.4	—
Technical High Schools (Technicums)	25-26	164,390	21.1	34.9	32.0	12.0
	27-28	189,542	23.3	33.8	32.2	10.7
	28-29	207,828	28.5	34.1	25.6	11.8
	29-30	236,824	38.5	30.6	23.0	7.9
	30-31	609,064	46.9	29.0	24.1	—
	31-32	715,724	50.8	28.8	20.4	—
(Estimates)						
Factory Schools	24-25	72,153	79.6	7.9	9.6	2.9
	26-27	96,675	74.6	7.6	13.4	4.4
	27-28	95,210	74.3	7.6	13.7	4.4
	28-29	99,976	75.3	8.8	11.7	4.2
	29-30	121,079	79.4	4.6	11.7	4.3
	Jan. 1, 1931	587,000	80.3	6.4	12.1	1.2
(Estimate)	Jan. 1, 1932	1,280,000				

* 9d. to 11½d. in English money.

The figures presented above show that from year to year the number of people studying in the Higher Technical Institutions, Technical High Schools and Factory Schools has been growing rapidly—in the Higher Technical Institutions in 1926 there were 165,356 people being taught, but in 1931 there were 253,481; in the Technical High Schools in 1926 there were 164,390 people being taught, but in 1931 there were 609,064; and in the Factory Schools corresponding numbers for those years were 72,153 and 587,000, not counting the special schools for agriculture and office training. From year to year the specific weight of the workers in every form of education has been growing. Every year the government expends hundreds of millions of roubles for scholarships to the students. The students of the Factory Schools are paid from the first day of their training in accordance with the special fourth category for apprentices. The rate of the first category of apprentices corresponds, as a rule, to 70 per cent. of the rate for the first category of the workers' tariff of wages.

Expenditures for popular education, for the training of cadres, for safe-guarding health and social protection in 1931 reached the tremendous volume of 6,500,000,000 roubles instead of the five billions in 1930.

Side by side with the growth of the material well-being of the working class and the toiling

masses is going on the reduction of the length of the working day and the lessening of the number of working days. Thus, the average length of the working day in 1927 amounted to 7 hours, 42 minutes, in 1928 to 7 hours 37 minutes, in 1929 to 7 hours 27 minutes, in 1930 to 7 hours 19 minutes, and for the seven months of 1931 to 7 hours 11 minutes.

By August 1, 1931, 80 per cent. of the workers in industry and transport had been transferred to the seven-hour working day, and about 75 per cent had been transferred to the unbroken, five-day week of production.

On the basis of the gigantic rate of the construction of Socialism in town and country in the U.S.S.R. unemployment has been completely eliminated; that, added to the above figures, considerably raised the general standard of living of the working class.

At present in the working-class family, not only the "head of the family" earns, but also his wife (for the one year 1931, 800,000 domestic housekeepers are being drawn into productive work), and his children, too, who enter Workers' Faculties, Factory Schools, etc., in which the general earnings of the family are considerably increased.

The numerical growth of the number of workers and employees, engaged in the Socialist sector of national economy is characterised by the following data: (given in thousands of people):

Sector of National Economy.						1931, % to
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1927
Qualified industry ...	2,838.6	3,033.3	3,265.9	4,255.0	4,981.	175.4%
Unqualified industry ...	422.8	408.2	408.2	360.0	332.	78.5%
Building trades ...	546.8	683.8	817.8	1,662.0	2,471.0	452.5%
Railway transport ...	961.1	966.8	951.1	1,084.0	1,254.0	130.4%
Other transport ...	295.9	298.1	319.6	584.0	604.0	204.0%
Trade and credit ...	669.0	678.9	771.6	1,132.0	1,228.0	183.5%
Social and cultural occupations ...	1,079.8	1,183.3	1,254.3	1,405.0	1,567.0	145.0%
Government institutions ...	1,260.1	1,242.6	1,249.2	1,367.0	1,292.	100.2%
Other branches ...	792.0	885.1	964.8	695.0	496.0	62.6%
Agriculture and forestry ...	2,124.0	2,086.0	2,138.0	2,212.0	2,615.0	122.6%
Total ...	10,990.1	11,454.1	12,147.5	14,756.	16,840.	153.2%
Percentage as compared with preceding year	100%	104.23%	106.05%	121.52%	114.03%	
Numerical increase ...	—	464.0	693.4	2,608.5	2,084.0	

These figures show that from year to year we have increasingly swift rates of growth in number of workers in all the Socialist sectors of national economy. For the past five years the increase amounts to more than seven million people, or 62.1 per cent. The more intense rate of growth falls on industry, construction and transport,

which is characteristic for the rates of the development of the productive forces of the country, the rates of our reconstruction.

The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world in which there is no unemployment, in which the questions concerning the satisfaction of the requirements of national economy for cadres of

workers is the most important problem, upon the solution of which depend the further, still swifter rates of Socialist reconstruction.

Thus, while surrounded by the ring of foes without and engaged in fierce class struggle within the country, the working class of the U.S.S.R., in alliance with the toiling peasantry is successfully fulfilling, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and on the basis of its general line, the construction of Socialism in one sixth of the globe.

III.

What do we see at the antipodes, at the capitalist pole?

In the capitalist method itself of production is inherent the inevitability of the absolute deterioration of the situation of the working class. Of course, this does not mean that this inevitability always and everywhere appears equally, in the same form, but it occurs under different conditions, in different periods with the specific peculiarities native to each period. This is seen especially clearly in the periods of the crisis of capitalist economy, when the absolute impoverishment of the proletariat attains its extreme limits.

The present economic crisis, which is taking place under conditions of universal crisis of capitalism as a system, is accompanied by the rapid, absolute impoverishment of the working class and the toiling masses and the unheard of deepening of the gap between wealth and poverty, between capital and labour. From the very beginning of the crisis the capitalists have sought and are continuing to seek an escape from the crisis at the expense of the working class and the toiling masses of the home-countries and the colonies.

The attack of capitalism against the working class has been going on from the first day of the crisis along four lines simultaneously: (1) reduction of employment; (2) reduction of wages; (3) reduction of relief for unemployment and other causes; and (4) lengthening of the working day, intensification of the exploitation of labour.

The state of unemployment in the lands of capitalism, according to the data of the social and economic department of the Trade Union International, is characterised by the following figures (in thousands of persons):

Country.	February	January
	1930	1931
U.S.A.	6,000	10,000
Germany	3,200	5,300
England	2,000	3,500
Latin America (19 countries)	1,000	4,000
Italy	1,000	1,300

Country.	February	January
	1930	1931
Japan	1,000	2,000
Poland	400	1,100
Austria	500	550
Hungary	450	600
Czecho-Slovakia	400	750
Rumania	270	400
Jugoslavia	240	350
Bulgaria	200	200
Greece	100	150
Spain	—	450
Portugal	250	350
Sweden, Denmark, Norway	150	300
Holland	—	150
Finland	—	100
Latvia	—	40
Estonia	100	27
Lithuania	—	18
Belgium	—	150
France	—	500
Australia	200	500
New Zealand	—	60
Canada	200	400
Mexico	500	800
Total	19,100	34,545

Consequently, in January of this year, for only thirty countries and according to far from complete figures, the number of unemployed reached the horrifying figures of 34,545,000 persons, but including the members of the families, more than one hundred million persons have been subjected to the horrors of unemployment, without counting those partially unemployed and the unemployed among the agricultural labourers.

In connection with the fact that during the past ten months of the current year the crisis has been growing more and more severe, production has been tumbling rapidly in all branches of industry, except war industries, unemployment has continued to grow systematically. Because bourgeois statistics try to carefully hide the true situation concerning unemployment, we are deprived of the possibility of presenting comparative figures regarding the number of the unemployed during the past period in each of the above-mentioned countries. The figures which we have at our disposal for the different countries show that in Germany the number of unemployed has risen by 588,000 persons from January to September, in Italy by 43,200 persons, in England by 186,000, in France by 167,000, in America, from the Ford factories alone (Detroit) 75,000 workers have been discharged since the first of August, and in all the unemployed in the U.S.A. amount to more than 13,500,000 persons.

The total number of unemployed, according to incomplete figures, has risen to 38 or 38.5 millions, and including the members of their families more than 110 millions are condemned to hunger and poverty, not counting artisans and farm-labourers.

The history of the world has never, in any period, known anything similar.

Such are the results of the capitalist system of production, such are the beauties of capitalism,

so zealously defended by world Social-Fascism. Under such conditions the bourgeoisie is carrying out a furious offensive against the standard of living of the working class by lowering the wages of workers engaged in production.

In Germany, beginning with 1928, a systematic attack has been made on wages; this is characterised by the following figures, published by Kuczinski in "Finanzpolitische Korrespondenz":

Average weekly rate of wages	Overtime rates	Losses connected with Unemployment	Shortening working days	Tax and contrib. soc. ins.	Out-of work dole	Actual weekly wage (all preceding factors deducted)
	(in marks)					
1929 48.55	4.35	7.70	1.25	4.85	9.10	42.20
1930 49.20	1.95	11.60	1.75	4.90	4.05	36.95
1931						
Jan. 48.80	1.95	17.35	2.55	4.00	6.10	32.90
Feb. 48.30	1.95	17.35	2.45	3.95	6.05	32.55
Mar. 47.85	1.90	16.80	2.35	4.00	5.90	32.50
Apl. 46.65	1.85	15.65	2.35	3.95	5.50	32.00
May 46.40	1.85	14.65	2.15	4.10	4.40	31.75
June 46.30	1.85	14.55	2.20	4.10	4.35	31.70
July 46.15	1.85	15.15	2.35	4.25	3.80	30.00
Aug. 46.15	1.85	16.35	2.65	4.05	4.10	29.00

The actual weekly wage had been lowered by July, 1931, by 19 per cent., as compared with 1930, and by 29 per cent. as compared with 1929.

If, on the basis of this table and of the table presented above (page 634) we compared the average daily wage for eight months of 1931 of the German worker (including additions and subtractions and of the worker in the U.S.S.R., then it turns out that the wage of the German worker (including additions and subtractions) amounts to 2r. 26k. (4.50 marks), while the wage of the worker in the U.S.S.R., without taking into account the social part of his

wages (social insurance, medical assistance, housing, education, etc.) amounts to 3r. 94 kopecks. Thus, in money terms the wages of the worker in the U.S.S.R. are already considerably higher than that of the German worker. As for his real wages, in addition to the socialised funds of wages, it must be taken into account that the worker in the U.S.S.R. satisfies more than 80 per cent. of his requirements through closed co-operative shops and social feeding at prices fixed by the government.

The real wage of the German worker (according to Kuczinski).

	Weekly cost of living, marks	Actual wages in %	Real wages 1927 = 100	Real wages 1913-14 = 100
1929	49.65	85	99.8	97.6
1930	47.55	78	91.3	89.2
1931				
January	45.30	73	85.4	83.5
February	44.80	73	85.4	83.5
March	44.45	73	85.9	44.0
April	44.25	72	84.9	83.0
May	44.30	72	84.2	82.3
June	44.50	71	83.6	81.7
July	44.35	68	79.5	77.7
August	43.55	67	78.2	76.5

("Finanzpolitische Korrespondenz," Sept. 27, 1931)

According to the data of the Berlin Statistical Institute, the toilers lost in the second quarter of 1931, as a result of the reduction of wages and of discharges, 1½ billion marks; as compared with the second quarter of 1930 that amounts to 12 per cent.

The reduction of the wage-fund for the first half-year of the current year amounts to almost three billion marks, according to the figures of the Berlin Statistical Institute and 4.3 billion marks, according to Kuczinski.

Since August 17th the wages of the municipal employees have been reduced by 10 per cent. (they had already been reduced by 6 per cent. in the spring, later the earnings were lowered by 8-12 per cent. by the shortening of the working week).

In the last days of September a decision by

arbitration was made for the 7 per cent. reduction of the wages of the Ruhr miners.

Throughout 1931 the Brüning Government, supported by the Social-Fascists, has continued the attack on the workers' wages. Even the Social-Fascist "Vorwärts" acknowledges that the wages of the textile operatives have been reduced by 50 per cent. The total wage fund for the first six months of 1931 has been reduced by 25 per cent., as compared with the first six months of 1930. At present Brüning's Government is preparing for a fresh and determined attack on the workers' wages.

England. The reduction of wages of the workers in England is characterised by the following figures (for the full working week):—

Movement of Wages from January to July, 1931.

Branch of Industry.	Approx. number of workers whose wages		Sum of weekly wages	
	Rose	Fell	Rise (in pounds sterling)	Fall
Coal mining	1,400	245,000	15	28,800
Other mining, quarrying	—	21,750	—	1,600
Brick, ceramics, glass, chemical industries	1,000	121,000	25	18,200
Iron and steel founding	66,000	66,000	2,150	6,750
Machine and tool-making	—	336,000	—	64,400
Other metal trades	100	126,000	25	21,000
Textile trades	3,000	352,000	115	46,500
Clothing trades	250	19,000	75	1,850
Food trades	1,250	11,500	90	1,900
Wood-working	250	40,000	25	8,250
Paper, printing	—	5,500	—	750
Building trades	1,100	498,000	110	43,500
Municipal services	1,100	31,250	210	3,200
Transport	12,000	438,000	1,800	51,450
Public institutions	3,400	58,000	430	4,850
Miscellaneous	150	56,000	30	9,250
Total	91,000	2,425,000	5,100	312,250

During the first half-year of 1930 reductions amounted to £110,000 pounds sterling and affected 1,006,000 workers.

Between January and August, 1931, wage-reductions affected 2,589,000 workers and amounted to £334,750 sterling. The biggest reductions affected the following branches of industry:—

Branches of Industry.	Amount of reduction in weekly wage (in pounds sterling).
Machine and tool trades	65,600
Transport	51,500
Textiles	48,500
Building trades	43,500
Coal mining	40,400

Reduction of the wage-fund of the working class in England:

In 1929 average weekly wage-fund reduced by £37,000, or £300,000 a year;

In 1930 average weekly wage-fund reduced by £80,000, or £4,160,000 a year;

In 1931 average weekly wage-fund reduced by £220,000, or £11,500,000 a year.

The figures presented above show that the "Labour" government of "His Majesty" the King of England in reducing wages, as well as in all other questions, did not yield the palm in the slightest to Baldwin's Conservative Government. The extensive election promises made by the Labour Party remained mere paper-promises for the working class of England. The new

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